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THE ENTERPRISE OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

A CRITICAL AND COMMON SENSE VIEW

PART I

IN a few months this continent and the whole world will be ringing with the names of the adventurous navigators of Columbus' day, and an early retrospect will enable us the better to understand and to take part in the discussions and celebrations which are soon to occur. Nor will it be unwise to commence in a somewhat critical mood, for, as is usual in centennials and other commemorative occasions, much hyperbole will be indulged in: we shall hear Columbus all but canonized, Isabella of Castile exalted as a most illustrious patroness of science, and mayhap the infamous deeds of the conquistadores will be glorified. This treatise aims to present a common-sense view of the facts connected with the voyages and discoveries of Columbus.

The nineteenth century has been a marvelous epoch for investigating and mastering physical forces, but scarcely less wonderful was the fifteenth, which Humboldt rightly calls the epoch of oceanic discovery. He might perhaps have better said re-discovery, but prior knowledge had not led to great results: the world had not been ripe for it, and Punic, Greek, and Norse adventures are matters for the curious historian alone.

As a preface to the grand volume which was to record its achievements we have in the middle of the fourteenth century the re-discovery of the Fortunate Islands—*μακάρων νήσοι*—now the Canaries, which are said to have been known to and reserved by the Carthaginians as a refuge in case of extreme danger to their commonwealth. It was not, however, until 1402 that Juan de Bethencourt, sailing from La Rochelle, took possession of them and ruled them. Rapidly, after this prelude, followed the important discoveries due to the initiative of Prince Henry of Portugal, third son of John I. of Portugal and Philippa, daughter of our John of Gaunt. This prince, a skilled mathematician, an enthusiastic geographer, and an aggressive Christian, seated himself at Sagres, a promontory just south of Lisbon,



THE WORLD AS KNOWN TO EUROPEANS IN 1400.

thenceforward to be known in history as the navigator, died in 1463.

I agree with Sir Arthur Helps in admiration of his noble figure, standing at full height on the promontory of Sagres, whence he had unobstructed view of the Atlantic surges, and could see in fancy the southwestern lands and people then springing into commercial importance—bringing about him adventurous captains, clever geographers, the ablest men of science—and directing all his and their endeavors to the exploration of unknown parts of the earth, not fitfully, but with steady purpose undaunted by reverses. But I see clearly that if he had not been at the taking of Ceuta in 1415, if the Moorish power had not been declining, soon indeed, and in Columbus' own presence, to be driven from Grenada its last foothold in western Europe, there would have been no Portuguese discoveries on the African coasts just then. The Moorish civilization had fulfilled its part in the life of humanity, it was at length yielding up its European stations to the might of the European sword, and the shrewd commercial folks of the southwestern peninsula rushed to take advantage of the opening. In the language of to-day, "there was a boom in West-African business," so great that historians gravely say that towards the end of Prince Henry's time, half the Portuguese nation had become interested in the negro slaves and the gold to be obtained on the Guinea Coast. Now one of Prince Henry's captains, Perestrelo, whom he made governor of Porto Santo, was father-in-law to Columbus. Again, after Prince Henry died, John II. farmed out the trade with Africa for five years for one thousand ducats a year, the concessionaire undertaking to explore the coast from Sierra Leone down, three hundred miles each year. The Gold Coast was thus discovered, which further fanned the lust for land. The king took the title of "Lord of Guinea" and sent out expeditions which

whence he directed the continual expeditions against the Mahometans on the western coast of Africa which successively discovered Porto Santo, Madeira, and passed Cape Bojador in 1434. The Cape de Verd islands, the Gambia river, and Sierra Leone were next visited, and Prince Henry,

discovered the Congo, and in 1487 the Cabo Tormentoso (Cape Stormy), re-named the Cape of Good Hope. Las Casas says that Bartholomew Columbus, brother of Christopher, sailed with Bartholomew Diaz when he made this discovery.

Thus we begin to see that to the uprising of Christendom against Moorish dominion in the west, to the taking of Ceuta (even more important than the fall of Grenada, which in about half a century it entailed), to the initiative of Prince Henry in seizing the scientific and commercial fruits of that event, is due the work of Columbus, to which we will now turn.

Though Christopher Columbus in his will expressly notes that he was born in Genoa (*essere a Genova nato e de la venito*); several other places have claimed either his birth or his origin. It seems, however, clear from De Simoni's review in the *Atta della Societa Ligure de Storia Patria* (Genoa, 1889) of Harrisson's papers on the subject, that he saw the light there in 1447 or 1448, his father being a butcher. The old gentleman went to Savona during Columbus' boyhood, and carried on that trade there, also turning tavern-keeper; but he went back to Genoa in a few years, where he owned two houses and was fairly well-to-do, though he died in embarrassed circumstances. Columbus must have been a clever lad, for he was sent to school at Pavia, where he did not stay very long, going off to sea at fourteen. He visited the whole of the eastern and western shores of the Mediterranean,* traveled as far as England and even beyond Ice-



PORTUGUESE DISCOVERIES IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

* "Vi todo el Levante y Poniente."—Navarrete.

land,* and coasted Africa as far as Mina. He had been employed, he tells us, by René of Provence to intercept a Venetian galliot. Then he went to Portugal, married the above-mentioned Perestrelo's daughter, and visited and lived for some time in the aforesaid Porto Santo.

Humboldt doubts whether in his voyage to Bristol and to Iceland Columbus heard of the old Norse expeditions to America, and of their settlements in Greenland, Nova Scotia, and Massachusetts. I have always inclined to think he did. I think both English and Norwegian fishermen

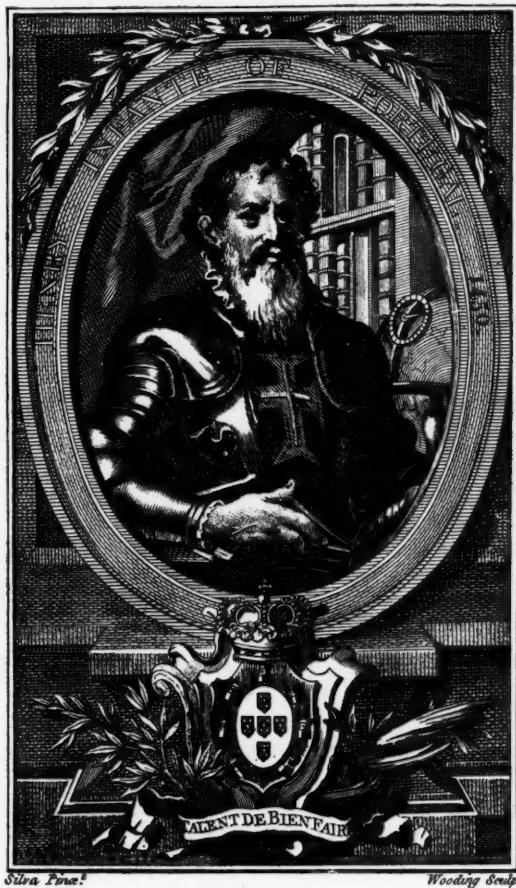


THE WORLD AS KNOWN TO EUROPEANS IN 1500.

resorted to the banks of Newfoundland, and that from some of them Columbus would hear of a world across the Atlantic. It seems that in the year of Columbus' first voyage, if not before, the folks of Bristol had begun annual expeditions into the west, to find the Indies, until at last in 1497 or 1498, Cabot was the first to find the mainland of America. And one can scarcely imagine a man of fair education, so much concerned with practical seafaring, at a time when astronomy and geography were being

* "Yo navegue el año de cuatro cientos y setenta y siete en el mes de Febrero ultra Tele . . . estangrande come Inglaterra, van los Ingleses con mercadería, especialmente los de Bristol."—Las Casas, *Hist. de los Indias*.

carefully studied, habitually using the newly improved instruments in aid of navigation, not coming to believe in the roundness of the earth, and in the possibility of reaching, in the latitudes assigned to China and



Silva Fine!

Wooding Sculp.

PRINCE HENRY OF PORTUGAL, 1450.

[Facsimile of engraving from an authenticated copy at the Royal Printing house, Lisbon.]

Japan, the coasts of which the fishing people must have spoken. Still, one cannot take from him the credit of an earnest determination to seek for them by sailing boldly in a southern latitude across the western ocean.

It is much to have reckoned up the distance in degrees, from the Canaries to Cathay, as Toscanelli did, whose map Columbus had and whose calculations he in some way checked; but to cut the knot of theory with the glaive of practice is surely a claim to distinction not in this case to be disputed.

Propounding a voyage of discovery in this sense to the Genoese, Columbus was rebuffed. That republic saw no money in the scheme. He then betook himself to Portugal, and the rascally Portuguese, after hearing his statements and reasonings, quietly sent out a caravel to the west, but the sailors lacked confidence in themselves to go on and on, and they returned from a fruitless errand. Hearing of this, Columbus sent to ask Henry VII. of England to take up the enterprise, while he himself left Portugal for Spain—one biographer believing that he went by way of Genoa, where his propositions were again rejected. This was in 1484, and eight heart-breaking seasons followed.

It took two years to obtain an interview with the Spanish sovereigns, who referred him to the scientists of the day, a council of churchmen who came dangerously near convicting him of heresy, because his opinions scarcely agreed with the received interpretations of some Scripture texts, and finally reported that his scheme was too groundless to be recommended. Weary and sad, he was leaving for France, when his friend Luis de Santangel, receiver of church revenues, addressed the queen with energy, as being the last chance. He cleverly suggested that the enterprise might fall into the hands of other princes. With adroit flattery he laid stress on the fact that it was the part of great sovereigns to ascertain the secrets of the world, and that Columbus only wanted a million of maravedis to set his enterprise afloat. The queen is said to have listened graciously, but asked that the matter should stand over until the finances had recovered from the strain imposed by the recent conquest of Grenada. This seeming impracticable, Columbus having either in earnest or in pretence set his face towards France, a messenger was hastily sent to recall the navigator, and an agreement between the sovereigns and himself was forthwith signed April 17, 1492. The queen is reported to have said she would pledge her jewels to cover the expense, but as a million of maravedis means fifteen hundred dollars only, which Santangel readily lent from private resources, this looks apocryphal.

Now if Columbus' views had been confined to the mere glory of discovering a way to the Indies, sailing west, he could surely have found enough commercial support in the various countries he visited, and among his many friends, if not from his family resources. It was, however, not



PORTRAIT OF JOHN OF GAUNT, KING OF CASTILE AND LEON.

[From the window of "All Souls," Oxford.]

mere scientific renown he was seeking, but such titles, authority, and commercial privileges as could only be conferred by a sovereign state. His negotiations with the Spanish court, and perhaps with some of the others, might indeed have been much earlier concluded, had it not been for the largeness of his conditions—to be made an admiral at once, to be appointed viceroy of the countries he might discover, to have an eighth of the profits of the expedition. Helps says: "He carried the chivalrous ideas of the twelfth century into the somewhat self-seeking fifteenth." It seems to me, rather, that Columbus was a keen hand at a bargain. For he even insisted that certain large monopolies, referred to in the law-suits of 1513-15 among his heirs, should be continued to his posterity. Perhaps, indeed, we may suspect there never was a time when personal profit was not considered by mankind, and that if we were closely to examine the events of the chivalrous twelfth century, we should find the usual amount of self-seeking behind its splendid blazonry.

On Friday, the 3d of August, 1492, the new admiral and three small vessels, the whole manned by only ninety mariners and provisioned for a year, set sail from behind the bar of Saltes, making for the Canary islands. Thence, after refitting, they sailed out into the west, and the intense interest of the voyage begins. Those whose minds chiefly dwell on the old conceptions of the earth and the ocean, the dread of the wild unknown, which has come down from Egyptian and Norse mythologies, would have us admire the boldness of the captains and their sailors in thus confronting hosts of imaginary as well as real dangers. I think it is as useful to consider their timidity. They feared, e. g., that while they might sail *down*, they never could get back *up* the stream of Ocean, which of course flowed off and around the edge of the earth. "Very needful for me," said Columbus afterward, "was this contrary wind, for the people were tormented with the idea that there were no winds on these seas that could take them back to Spain." When they had gone a great distance across plains of seaweed, and found the needle declining to the west, they believed "it would be their best plan to throw the admiral quietly into the sea, and say he unfortunately fell overboard while absorbed in gazing at the stars."

It is evident that such men as these were not very noble volunteers in the cause of discovery. Our people are ready nowadays to sail into the ever-present dangers of the Arctic regions, where no possible pecuniary gain can be had, but where for years they take their lives daily in their hands. The contrast is remarkable, but perhaps we cannot blame these Spaniards who knew that they were going for a more or less sordid object, to gain territory and riches for the admiral and the queen.

Notwithstanding this, the longest books about the voyage and the discoveries are all too short, and every page is full of marvels, truth quite exceeding fiction. What then can I do in the brief space allotted me for this article? When condensed, such accounts lose force and beauty, as if instead of presenting to an expectant bridegroom a lovely helpmate, palpitating with life, glowing with health, sweet in speech, one were to give him her skeleton, labeled indeed with a scientific name, but only fit for the cases of a museum. Again, all translations lack the full savor of the originals. Yet, I must plunge somewhat into facts to justify my argument, and I will venture to take you near to these originals, giving you the first letter of Columbus, which I have translated with the special endeavor to preserve his picturesque and concise style. It is a letter to the above-named chancellor of church revenues, Santangel:

"SIR :

Because I know the grand success Our Lord has granted me on this voyage will be pleasing to you, I write to say that in 33 days I crossed to the Indies with the fleet which the illustrious King and Queen, our Sovereigns, gave me. I found there very many islands, with innumerable inhabitants. Of all I took possession for their Highnesses, by proclamation and by unfurling the Royal Standard. The island first discovered I named San Salvador—the Indians called it Guanahani. The second I called Santa Maria de Concepcion, the third Fernandina, the fourth Isabella, the fifth Juana—each one thus having a new name. I found Juana so large that I thought it must be the main land, the province of Cathay, and as I saw no towns or villages on the coast, but only trifling settlements with whose people I could hold no conversation because they all incontinently fled, I kept on coasting in the expectation of finding some large cities. Herein failing, I returned to a harbor I had observed and sent two men ashore to enquire if there was a King or if there were towns of any size. They travelled for two days, found numberless hamlets and untold people, but no semblance of any Government, so they returned. Meantime I learned from some Indians whom I seized that it was an island, so I followed the coast eastward for 320 miles until it ended in a cape, whence I saw another island fifty miles away. This I named La Spañola, and followed its northern shore for five hundred and thirty miles due east. It is very fertile, like the rest, and particularly extensive, with wonderfully safe and capacious harbors. The land is high, with mountains loftier than Teneriffe, of lovely shapes, covered with trees of a thousand kinds, so tall that they seem to reach the sky, and they are said never to lose their leaves. This indeed I can well believe, for I saw them as green as they might be in a Spanish May—some in bloom, some with fruit, nightingales and a thousand other birds singing—and this in November. There are six or eight kinds of palms, of singular but beautiful forms, wonderful to observe, as are the other trees, fruits and vegetables. There are groves of pine, extensive plains, honey, many kinds of birds and fruits, many mines of metals, and innumerable people. Espaçola is a wonder; the mountains, hills, plains, meadows and fields are so beautiful to plant and sow, so suited for raising cattle and for building towns and cities. You must see the harbors to understand how fine they are, and so too with the many large and excellent streams, most of which carry gold. There are also many spices and grand mines of gold

and other metals. The trees and plants with their fruits are quite different from those of Juana (Cuba).

The people of this and of all the other islands I have discovered or heard of, all go as naked as when they were born—men and women alike, except that some women screen themselves a little with a single leaf or a piece of cotton made for the purpose. They possess no iron, steel or arms, nor are they fit to use them; not but that they are well built and of handsome stature, but that they are curiously timid. Their only weapons are the flower-stalks of reeds, to which they fasten small bits of wood, and these they dare not use, for I have often sent ashore two or three men to hold a parley at some village, when the people would come out in countless numbers, but on seeing our men approach they would run away in such a manner that fathers would not even look after their children. This was not because we harmed any one, for on going anywhere to have a talk I gave them what I had—cloth and many other things—without any return, but because they are incurably timid. When however they have been re-assured, they never say no, but offer things before being asked, and shew so much kindness that they would give their very hearts away, and are content to exchange things of great value for a very little stuff of any kind. I forbade giving them bits of broken crockery or glass, and the ends of old straps, though when they did get such things it seemed as if they had the finest jewels in the world, but it was ascertained that a sailor got for a strap gold weighing two castellanos and a half.* . . . For new blancas † they would give all they had, two or three castellanos of gold ‡ or an arroba or two of spun cotton.§ They accepted bits of the broken hoops of wine casks, and gave for them all they had, like fools—so that it seemed wrong and I forbade it and gave them a thousand good and pretty things I had brought on purpose to gain their affection, to lead them to become Christians and incline to love and serve their Highnesses and the whole Spanish nation; also to induce them to help us by giving us what we need and they possess in abundance.

They are not idolaters and know of no religion, save that they all believe the source of Power and of Good is in Heaven. They very firmly think that I, with these ships and crews, came from the sky, and in this spirit they received me everywhere, so soon as their fears were quieted. Nor does this spring from stupidity, for they are of a very subtle mind, and they navigate all these seas, while it is wonderful what good accounts they give of everything . . . but they have never seen men with clothes on or ships resembling ours. When I reached the Indies, on the first island I discovered, I seized some of the people, so that they might learn and give me information about these parts, and we have come to understand them either by words or signs, and they have been very useful.

They still think I came from Heaven, and wherever I have been they run from house to house and to the neighboring villages crying aloud, 'Come, come, and see the folks from Heaven.' Thus re-assured, they came, men and women, high and low, all bringing something to eat and drink, which they most lovingly gave. In all the islands they have numerous canoes, like our row-boats, of various sizes, some much larger than a barge of eighteen seats but not so wide, being made of a single piece of timber. Our boats could not keep up with them in rowing, for they go with incredible speed, and herein these folks navigate among the innumerable isles, and exchange their merchandize. I have seen seventy or eighty men in some of these canoes, each with his paddle. I did not notice much difference in the looks of the people, their customs and language: they all

* Twelve dollars.

† Copper coins.

‡ \$10.00 to \$15.00.

§ 25 to 50 lbs.

understand each other, which is singular, and leads me to hope their Highnesses will take means for their conversion to our holy faith. . . . Juana is larger than England and Scotland put together, because I sailed three hundred and twenty miles along the coast, while there are two provinces beyond that, which I have not visited, one of which is called Avau where people are born with tails. Espaniola has a longer coast line than all Spain. This is something to covet, and, when found, not to be lost sight of. . . . There was one large town in Espaniola to which I gave the name of Villa de Navidad, of which especially I took possession—most conveniently situated for working the gold mines and for commerce, either with our continent or that of the great Khan. I fortified it, and left in it a sufficient force, with arms artillery and provisions for more than a year, a barge and a sailing master skilled in the arts necessary to build more, and I formed such a friendship with the King of the place that he called me his brother. But even though this disposition should change and become hostile, yet as the people know nothing of arms and are naked, the men I left could destroy the whole country, and the island contains no terrors for those who know how to govern themselves.

In all the islands it would seem that the men are content with one wife, though to their ruler or king they allot twenty. It looks as if the women did more work than the men. I have not been able to understand whether they own separate property, but it rather seems they have things in common, especially victuals. I have not found men of monstrous shapes, as many thought likely, nor are they black as they are in Guinea, and their hair is straight. . . . In these islands, where there are mountains, I felt the cold this winter considerably, but they endure it through being used to it and eating things with spices and very hot ingredients. I heard of no monsters except in the second island of these Indies where dwells a race believed to be very ferocious, who are cannibals, and have many canoes in which they visit all the islands, robbing and plundering what they can. They are no worse formed than the rest, but they wear their hair long, like women, and use bows with arrows of reeds tipped with wood, for want of iron. . . . They are thought by these very timid people to be fierce, but I count them for no more than the rest. These are the men who have relations with the women of Matenino, the first island met with in coming from Spain, in which there are no men: these women doing no women's work but having bows and arrows of reeds as above mentioned and arming and covering themselves with plates of copper, of which they possess much. I am informed there is another island, larger than Espaniola, in which the inhabitants have no hair, but there is gold in it beyond measure, and from this as well as the others I bring some Indians for testimony.

Finally, and referring to this voyage alone, hasty as it has been, their Highnesses can see that I shall be able to give them all the gold they want, with but trifling help; spices also and as much cotton as they shall order shipped; mastic, as much as they wish for, which at present is only found in the island of Chios and is sold by the Genoese Senate at their own price; lign-aloes, whatever quantity they desire imported, and slaves, as many of these idolaters as they wish to have kidnapped. I think too I have found rhubarb and cinnamon, and I shall discover a thousand other things of value by means of the agents I left behind, for I myself tarried nowhere when the wind allowed of my proceeding, except in the town of Navidad, which I fortified and established well. This is much, and praised be our Lord the Eternal God, who grants to all who walk in His ways the victory over apparently impossible things, of which this has been a signal instance, for though others have written or spoken of these countries, it was all guess work, not having seen

them, while it was understood that the listeners thought they were hearing fiction rather than fact. But now that our Saviour has given the victory to our illustrious king and queen and to their kingdoms, which have acquired great renown through such an important event, all Christendom should rejoice and keep high holiday, giving solemn thanks to the Holy Trinity, with many serious prayers, for the great honor which will accrue from converting so many peoples to our holy faith, as well as for the temporal benefits which will bring refreshment and profit not only to Spain but to all Christians,

Done on board the Caravel, off the Canary Islands, February 15, 1493.

Yours to command,

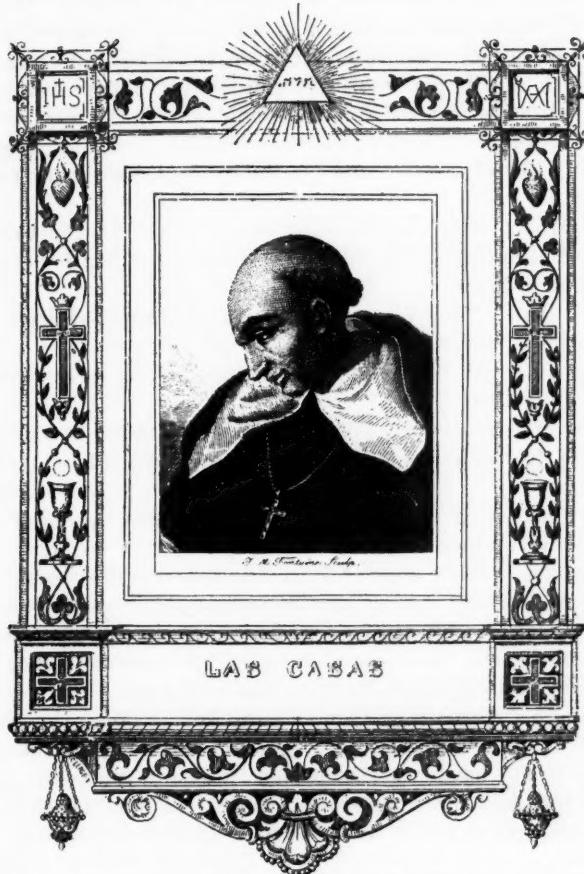
The Admiral."

From what is ancient, grand, and poetic, I turn for an instant to what is recent and commonplace. I saw Guanahani last spring from the deck of an Atlas liner. It is now called Watling's Island, a Mr. Watling having once bought the whole of it for raising sheep. It is bare of trees, with only a few agaves and scrubby palms. A fine lighthouse replaces the torch which Columbus saw an Indian carrying among the huts. Indians there are none, nor are there any in Jamaica, Cuba, or Hispaniola, and this recalls me to my text.

I have been arguing that Columbus was keeping a shrewd eye to the main chance. I do not wish to belittle the man or his achievements, or to judge with harshness even his weaknesses, but I think it wrong to exalt any one beyond reasonable measure; it is idolatrous to ascribe semi-divine qualities to those mere mortals who have in a regular chain of events come, as we term it, to the front. Moreover, the spirit of the *fin de siècle* is upon us, and it is only by applying to illustrious names the test of evolutionary doctrines that we can now form a well-balanced judgment and truly appreciate their position in the procession of events too often mis-called the path of progress. We have seen biology re-written; geology, astronomy, psychology, sociology reformed; history is now under close examination. You will have noted that I am no hero worshiper, nor do I wish to be the iconoclast my friends have sometimes called me. In a progressive age there cannot be many men distinguished above their fellows, there must be groups of men of talent; it is only in an unenlightened time that individual men can stand out plainly above the ruck. As when a meteor darts across the sky, the less the light diffused by sun or moon the brighter shines the shooting star: with all the heavens afire, incandescent meteorites are scarcely seen. Perhaps we misuse the name "leader" as applied in this sense to men; we ought not to call "leaders" those who happening to be in the van of general movement are by it pushed forward.

The life of a country, a city, of any organized or unorganized body of men, is of more consequence to the world than that of an individual. So

thinking, a Curtius leaps into the gulf, a Regulus returns to torture and to death, a Leonidas keeps the pass. It is right to record their acts, for guidance or avoidance, but not by undue adulation to dissociate them



MISSIONARY TO THE INDIANS OF THE NEW WORLD DISCOVERED BY COLUMBUS. CONSECRATED BISHOP AT SEVILLE, IN 1544.

from their surroundings. Nor must we do this with Columbus. As Robertson has well said, it was the destiny of mankind that before the end of the fifteenth century the new continent should be known to European navigators. I suppose it was in the same way the destiny of mankind

that in the sixteenth century the new continent should exhibit the most frightful scenes of cruelty and carnage, that avarice and tyranny should have full swing, that reckless and ferocious disregard for life as horrid as that of the old Romans should be shown by their brutal successors in speech and empire, that saturnalia of slaughter, dissipation, piracy, and all manner of crimes should be acted on the American stage, and that because much of all this wholesale murder and robbery was done in the name of civilization and religion, we should glorify the men who were in authority—canonize Columbus, the root of all the evil, and honor instead of execrating Cortez, Pizarro, and Quesada. Now here is the sequence of events:—

1. The Moors, who once were strongly posted in the southwest of Europe, had been driven out of their settlements in Septimania and were losing ground in Spain.
2. Their base of supplies at Ceuta was captured—Prince Henry of Portugal being at the siege.
3. Their authority thus crumbling, the conquering races intruded commercially along their coasts.
4. Discoveries southward followed fast; the seizure of slaves and the exchange of European manufactures for African gold being the great inducements.
5. The Renaissance having permitted the study of the old geographers, and trade with the Indies by land having assumed importance.
6. Columbus, a fairly educated lad, taking to the sea, became a skilled navigator, and learning that a coast he thought to be Asia was in nothern latitudes not far to seek, resolved to find it by sailing west from a more southern point. His views were influenced by correspondence with Toscanelli and by reading Peter Martyr's *Imago Mundi*.
7. During his residence in Campo Santo he had noted the great profits easily made by seizing negroes for slaves and bartering trinkets for gold.
8. He may not have expected to make slaves in the Indies, but he did expect to find gold, precious stones, spices, etc., and he stipulated for a share in the profits of this trade, as part equivalent for his pointing out the new way.
9. He found on the islands he discovered a simple people, without wealth, with but a little gold, no silver, no precious stones, none of the usual spices of India.
10. He then conceived the idea of enslaving the whole race, and of enriching himself by transporting captives, and employing the rest in forced labor.

We will now consider what manner of men these people were. On the islands there were no ferocious animals, no lions, tigers, bears. Some lazy alligators were the only things to fear, and they frequent the swamps only; the folks therefore had not the chase to teach them warlike tastes and arts. They had no flesh to eat save that of fish, in taking which they displayed great skill, whether with nets or other tackle, large lizards, and perhaps now and then some birds: they lived mainly on the fruits of the earth, a gentle race. They had little to fear except from the maritime cannibal Caribs, to escape whose murdering fury they seem to have trusted to canoes and to concealment in the woods, while in the larger islands they chiefly lived inland or upon the mountain slopes, whence they could maintain a look-out at the season when winds were fair for their enemies' cruises. From the Indian ash-heaps of this vicinity our Dr. Brodie has drawn materials for a lifelike picture of a Chippewa Indian's household. In Jamaica mounds have been explored in situations like those just mentioned, where shells of the great red conch, of oysters and other mollusks abound. Implements are not numerous, and are not as with us chiefly lance-heads and arrow-points, chipped from flint, but gouges, small hatchets, chisels, with a few drills or needles; all but the last being of polished stone. In the fine collection of the Jamaica Institute I saw but one specimen that bore the marks of chipping. All these are the implements of the arts of peace.

On the mainland, the Indian tribes were much more warlike, and there were bold Mayas, cruel Aztecs with an advanced civilization, perhaps in consequence of their acquaintance with war, for it is not true to speak of peace as the only civilizer. But those Indians never visited the islands, whose occupants had more in common with the men of the Florida shell mounds. When inquiring about these, at Tampa, I was informed that a gorget of gold had been found in one of them. The Indians of Guanahani had a few such. Guanahani, like Florida, being low-lying, they were asked whence the gold came. They answered, from the south. Gold was the only metal they had. I saw no copper relics in the various collections at the Jamaica Exhibition.

How could such a race withstand the fifteenth-century Spaniard, himself the highly developed product of centuries of struggle with Carthaginian, Roman, Goth, and Moor, clad in armor, with iron pikes, steel swords, and fire-arms, mounted, too, upon those terrible horses?

Columbus was a tall man; we may suppose him somewhat lean, as enthusiasts mostly are. His complexion was clear, inclined to red, eyes blue, nose aquiline. Thick auburn hair and a heavy reddish beard surrounded

in the Juan de la Cosa map of A. D. 1500, the painting of St. Christopher, supposed to mean Columbus, and the least apocryphal of the several likenesses, a long anxious face, shaven as to the cheeks, lips, and pointed chin. Over his armor, as he took possession of Guanahani for the monarchs, he wore a crimson habit. All possible pomp was displayed, for they thought they might be in speedy relations with the great khan or the emperor of China. All this was so utterly strange to the poor Indians that it is small wonder they believed him to be divine!

Quickly following his own letter, Columbus returned to Spain, passing through or by way of Portugal. The liveliest interest was at once manifested in his discoveries, best paralleled by the advantage taken by the powers and the general interest of the whole world in Livingstone's and Stanley's African voyages of this generation. The title of Don was given to him, to his brothers, and his descendants; he was assigned a coat of arms, he rode by the king's side, and was served at table as a grandee. There seem to have been two supremely happy moments in the strange life of this strange man: the first, when he saw land after his adventurous voyage; the second, this recognition of his achievement. Between these two, however, all the happiness of his life was condensed, and we shall speedily see the turn in his fortunes come.



TORONTO, CANADA.

(*To be continued.*)

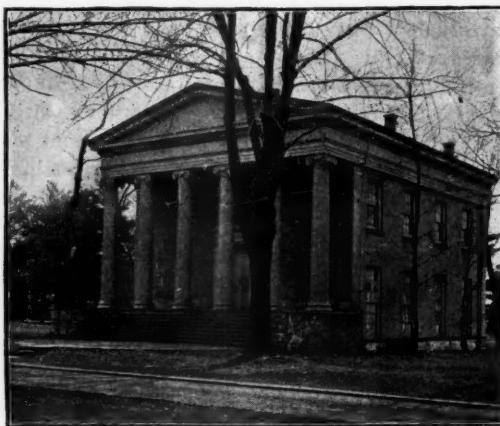
THE SECRET SOCIETIES OF PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

FOUNDED BY HISTORIC CHARACTERS OF NATIONAL REPUTATION

There are at the present day no Greek-letter fraternities at Princeton. Many entering students learn this with surprise and some with regret, but their absence is never sorely felt when it is realized that the university is a large fraternity in itself, strong and independent, of which each individual is a part and to which he owes his allegiance. The social circles at Princeton are the natural ones of friendly sympathy which are formed around the individual in every community, and are large or small according to his desires and his attainments. The literary element, now considered an essential feature of the college fraternity, Princeton supplies in two long since established "literary halls" known as the Cliosophic and the American Whig societies, secret in character, and of such value to the college as an educational factor that it was principally to broaden their influence among the students that the Greek-letter fraternities were abolished in 1855. They are the prototypes and the most vigorous survivals of those twin literary societies or "halls," generally secret and always intense in mutual rivalry, which have been institutions of nearly every one of the older and leading colleges in the land. These are, too, the oldest of their kind, having been founded, the one in 1765, the other in 1769, and they are to-day the only secret societies at Princeton.

They sprang from two old clubs, called "well-meaning" and "plain-dealing," which occupied the half-rooms in the fourth story of Nassau Hall. At the time when British oppression stirred the colonists to opposition, and the students of Princeton, full of patriotism in the cause of freedom, were burning effigies and making eloquent attacks upon the British parliament, the "well-meaning" and "plain-dealing" clubs were abolished and the "halls" established for the cultivation of literature and oratory. The names most intimately associated with the foundation of the Cliosophic society, which is the older, are Robert Ogden, William Paterson, Luther Martin, Oliver Ellsworth, and Tapping Reeve—strong names in our country's roll of honor. An incident in the college life of one of these patriot statesmen, Oliver Ellsworth, reflects the spirit of the early college youth and betokened in him the future jurist. It was during the administration of President Finley, 1761-1766, when certain laws existed, with

fines, public admonitions, and expulsions imposed upon offenders, which met, as we can well imagine, the ridicule of the students. One of these, for instance, was, "every scholar in college shall keep his hat off about ten rods to the president and five to the tutors." Ellsworth disregarded it. He was arraigned before the "superiority of the college" and defended himself with the ingenious plea, which satisfied the scruples of his judges, that a hat was composed of two parts, the crown and the brim, and as his hat had no brim (he had torn it off with an eye to his future defense) what he wore was not a hat and he could be guilty of no offense. This boy subsequently rose to be chief-justice of the supreme court of the United States; and it was said by Mr. Calhoun that to the coolness and



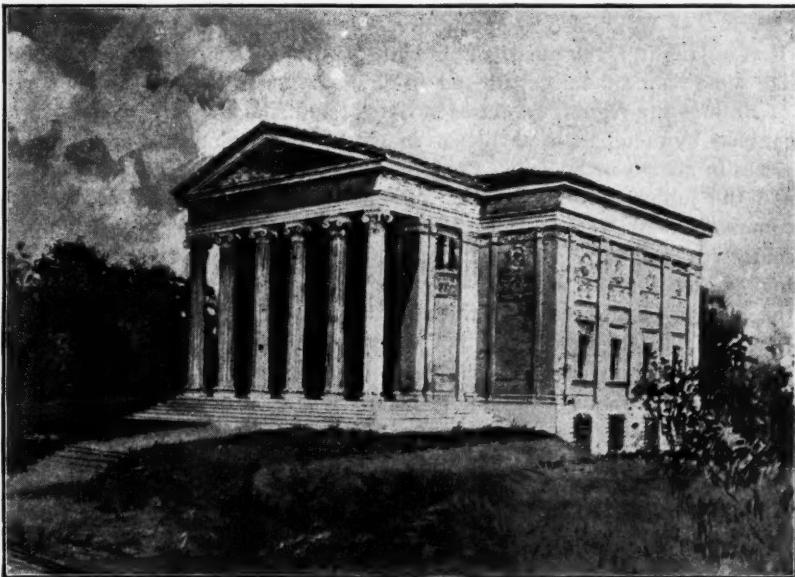
OLD WHIG HALL, PRINCETON.

sagacity of Oliver Ellsworth and Judge William Paterson of New Jersey, aided by a few others not so prominent, we owe our present Constitution.

The "whig society" was founded by James Madison, who became one of the authors of *The Federalist*, one of the framers of our Constitution, and President of the United States. Jefferson said of Madison that he was "the first of every assembly of which he became a member." It is interesting to all Princetonians to know that in the founding of "Whig Hall" Madison first showed his genius as a statesman and leader. Of him Chief Justice Marshall said: "Mr. Madison was the most eloquent man I ever heard." Mr. Gallatin pronounced him "the ablest man that ever sat in the American congress."

To these illustrious founders of Princeton's literary societies the world truly owes a debt of gratitude, for since those early days until the present a healthful and invigorating influence has emanated through generations of men from Whig and Clio halls.

They were organized with these great objects in view: "The improvement of the mind, the expansion of the intellect, the culture of the heart, and the promotion of close and lasting friendships." Their purpose (to quote from Clio's historian, Dr. Giger) is "to give a practical tone to



THE NEW WHIG HALL, PRINCETON.

abstract study, to furnish a field for the exercise of those powers which Greek, Latin, science, mathematics and metaphysics awaken in the mind; they introduce the scholastic student to the great world in miniature, launch him into the active sympathies of life, into the contested questions of literature, art, history, and morals, sympathies and questions of which he would otherwise in all probability be ignorant or regardless. They are the forum in which new-born intellectual vigor is exercised and trained. It is here that the faculties acquired are first applied, and here are had the prelude and preparation for the public labors and conflicts of real life."

These important objects are accomplished in a system of literary exercises with an unusually high standard of excellence and with exceptional advantages for work. Debating and speaking, in which members participate at regular intervals, occur twice every week; while a weekly business meeting on Friday afternoons is an event which members relish with enthusiasm. Strict parliamentary usage is always observed; for in spite of the occasional disorderly sounds that were wont to issue from the upper chambers of the old halls, indicating to the uninitiated the wildest orgies, rules of order are enforced when needed. The pledge of secrecy prevents us from disclosing the meaning of those strange sounds, the roars of laughter, the bursts of applause, and the peculiar barking sound, like some poor animal caged and in distress.

Besides the regular exercises in debate and speaking, there are yearly contests by members of each class in essays, oratory, and debate, yielding prizes in medals or books to the winners. The Lynde debate by seniors and the junior orations are the well-known public inter-hall contests of commencement week. For these contests each hall selects its representatives by early competitions—three seniors for the debate and four juniors for the speaking—by the decision of judges selected from the college faculty, each of whom is a member of one or the other of the halls, although never of both. After the appointments have been made, there is an eager consultation in the library of authorities upon the various subjects chosen for the orations and debate, then the studious preparation in writing, then the oral rehearsal of the finished speeches, with exercises in voice culture to give them character and grace.

There is always a strenuous struggle for supremacy between the halls. The spirit of emulation and generous rivalry, united with the personal desire to obtain the high honors of a literary distinction, are powerful incentives to exertion. When the day for the contest arrives, each hopeful aspirant, wearing his academic gown, appears before the assemblage of commencement visitors, who receive him with enthusiasm and listen to his speech with the rapt attention which his eloquence commands; while the appointed judges—old graduates who have attained distinction in the field of letters—take critical notes upon his oratory. At the close of his effort the speaker bows and retires, followed by a storm of applause that brings to his excited mind bright promises of success. On commencement day he hears the result announced by a crier with a loud voice, and he either rejoices in the attainment of the coveted distinction of receiving the first Lynde prize or “the first J. O.”, or, disappointed, he

returns homeward, like Napoleon after the battle of Waterloo—"the gloomy somnambulist of a vanished dream."

The two halls which for fifty-two years stood side by side upon the south campus were demolished in June, 1890, to give place to the new halls now in process of construction. They were considered beautiful examples of the pure Ionic, and richly deserving the praise lavished upon them. They were alike in external appearance, sixty-two feet long, forty-one feet wide, and two stories high, copied, with the exception of the columns of the hexastyle portico, from a Greek temple in Teos situated on a peninsula of Asia Minor. The new halls, also alike, will be built not of stucco-covered stone like the old buildings, but of white marble from Vermont. Retaining the same Ionic style, the total length of each hall will be eighty-five feet, and the width at the extensions sixty-six feet. Six monolithic columns nineteen feet long, the largest ever cut in America, will grace the portico of each building. We regret that a veil of secrecy must be thrown over the interior architectural designs. We are assured, however, that they will be in keeping with the substantial elegance of the exterior; and we know that each hall will have a large assembly chamber, reading-rooms and reception-rooms, a library of ten thousand volumes, and possibly billiard and bath rooms. They will cost \$50,000 each, and will stand upon the sites of the old halls, completing the quadrangle formed with East college, West college, and Nassau hall.

Making a choice between the halls is one of the perplexities that confront the entering student. He learns something of their purpose, their history, and what is expected of members; but he can discover no substantial difference in their merits, or the advantage of belonging to one rather than to the other. When the electioneering system was in vogue a prospective member was waited upon by committees from both halls, who would "buttonhole" him wherever they could find him and give him no peace of mind until he made the choice between them. The choice is now most often made upon family preference, upon mere fancy, or to satisfy a friend. Initiations—weird, fantastic, and terrible—are performed upon the neophytes. Rumors had in some way become extant of the traditional goat and glowing furnace kept alive in the subterranean passages of Whig and Clio halls—rumors of fiendish shapes and ghastly enactments that turn curiosity into terror, and make the stout young hearts of freshmen tremble with apprehension. Rumor, however, does not always stand for truth. If the novices had to believe all that rumor told, they would know that the hall goat is fed upon rusty nails and broken glass, and that hazing in its palmiest days was but a prelude and

preparation compared to the encounter with that animal. But the entering members somehow pass unscathed through the ordeal of initiation, and are finally presented to the older members of the society who are met together in solemn conclave. An early graduate of Princeton writes of his entrance into Clio: "It was the most impressive ceremony I have ever known in my experience. The unlooked-for dignity and seriousness of the scene quite overturned my levity, and I could scarcely believe the change one brief hour had produced. And never did they admit a more orderly and zealous member: in four years I never failed in a duty nor was absent from a meeting. I loved and venerated that body."

The halls have certainly done much for Princeton college in contributing to give it the distinctive character it bears, and well deserve the fostering care of its authorities. Dating back their origin very nearly to that of the college itself, they are not only in a great measure identified with it, but are integral parts of it. Their ends, indeed, are one; their aims the same. The studies of the college invigorate the exercises of the halls; the exercises of the halls give a stimulus to the studies of the college. And as every student in college, with rare exceptions, is a member of one of the societies, he has a double motive for exertion. He aspires to the honors of the college not merely for his own gratification, but because he feels that it will redound to the honor of his society. What would otherwise be a mere selfish ambition becomes in this way a noble and generous impulse. And his fellow members instead of envying his superiority take a pride in his distinction.

Another and an important feature of the societies is the element of secrecy. Their purposes and methods are known and avowed, but their transactions are shrouded in mystery just enough to impart an interest and a charm, better felt than described, which serves as a sacred bond of union and a tie of friendship. Professors as well as students become hall members, and like the students can be members of only one society, according to their option. Here all meet together on common ground as friends, companions, and brothers.

In short, these societies are little republics governed by laws of their own making, which are the more cheerfully obeyed because self-imposed. These laws are not hostile to those of the college, but supplement them. They not only regulate conduct at meetings, but they exercise a censorship over morals. And the intellectual encounters, the mimic contests that here take place are a training for the more serious and earnest struggles which await the youthful champions in the great battle with the world. The graduates who have attained distinction in church or state

or in the walks of private life—and there have been many—have gladly assigned to one or the other of these societies a portion of the honors they have won, while their *alma mater* and the halls point to them as their brightest jewels. The hall catalogues show the names of three signers of the Mecklenburg declaration, two signers of the Declaration of Independence, thirty-two members of the continental congress, one President of the United States, two Vice-Presidents of the United States, one high sheriff of London, fifty-five United States senators, one hundred and forty-one members of the house of representatives, nine members of the convention that framed the Constitution, six judges of the United States supreme court, nineteen members of the cabinet, nineteen foreign ministers, thirty-seven governors and lieutenant-governors of states, forty-six attorney-generals of states, nineteen United States district-attorneys, one hundred and eighty-eight judges of higher state courts, four bishops in the church, and the names of many other distinguished graduates.

The Cliosophic and American Whig societies thus hold a unique place among college secret organizations. While others exist principally for the social advantages which they afford, the literary halls of Princeton and those formed upon the same model (as the twin literary societies of Lafayette, for example) provide a literary and parliamentary training with the sole object of self-improvement. At Princeton the purely social element in the student life is found in the dormitories and eating clubs; it does not characterize the halls. Nevertheless, within the walls of Whig and Clio friendly ties are formed as close and lasting as any formed in the "Skull and Bones society" of Yale, the "Hasty Pudding club" of Harvard, or the inter-collegiate Delta Kappa Epsilon. A society in which excellence and usefulness are sought by its members, in which it is their endeavor to attain a liberal culture by the exercise and training of the higher faculties, affords the best opportunity for the expression of those qualities of character which appeal to the hearts and intelligence of companions.

The love which the alumni of Princeton bear for their *alma mater* has often been remarked—the delightful recollections which they cherish of the days they have passed here, the pleasure with which they revisit the scenes of their youth, and the interest which they continue to take in the university through life. Nothing has contributed more to create and keep alive such feelings and associations than the existence and influence of these societies.

Thomas W. Hotchkiss, Jr.

A SHORT-LIVED AMERICAN STATE

A narrative of American affairs can lay little claim to completeness unless it devotes a goodly share of space to Louisiana. The term creates in the mind of the historian a variety of conceptions. A vast, undefined expanse of wilderness contended for by two mighty nations in an epoch-making struggle; a province passing from jurisdiction to jurisdiction, and in the passing occupying the attention of some of the most adroit of European diplomats; a territory whose purchase changed the character of our federal Union, and in whose soil were sown the seeds that germinated our great sectional conflict; a state whose people have preserved to the latest day their European traditions intact, and whose political record is tinged with pathos and tragedy—all these are embraced within the term.

Of the domain now known as the state of Louisiana, that portion bounded by the Pearl river on the east, the Mississippi on the west, the thirty-first parallel on the north, and Lakes Maurepas and Pontchartrain on the south, has a history so distinctly its own, and one so obscurely treated in the annals of historic research, that an account of how it came to be a part of the present state of Louisiana will interest many readers.

When the "Old French War" drew to a close, and the contest for American supremacy was decided in favor of England, France was compelled to relinquish all her territorial possessions on the continent of America. By conquest from France and by cession of Florida from Spain, England came into possession of the territory east of the Mississippi, with the exception of a small triangular portion known as the Isle of Orleans upon which was founded the present city of New Orleans. This with the vast country lying west of the Mississippi embraced within the province of Louisiana, passed to the jurisdiction of Spain. The treaty terminating hostilities and confirming the several transfers of territory is known as the first treaty of Paris, 1763.

England lost little time in occupying her newly acquired possessions. The Florida of those days extended as far west as the Mississippi, and it was now divided, the line of division between the eastern and western portion being the Perdido river. British garrisons were placed at Natchez, Baton Rouge, and Mobile. Several new posts were established, notably Fort Bute on Bayou Manchac, the stream separating West Florida from the Isle of Orleans south of it.

English traders from the seaboard colonies had for some time prior to this been making their way as far west as the Mississippi, notwithstanding the distrust with which they were viewed by the French of Fort Rosalie (Natchez) and other river settlements. When West Florida came within English jurisdiction an Anglo-American immigration set in, which did not long continue, however, for England did not remain long in possession of the territory. A decade had scarce passed since its acquirement, when the contest for English liberty in America culminated in the American Revolution. In the war that followed, England soon found her old antagonist, France, espousing the cause of the Americans. Spain had offered to mediate between the contestants, but received a direct snub. Smarting under the real or fancied wrong, and seeing an opportunity of winning back the much-coveted fortress of Gibraltar, she allied herself with France and was soon actively engaged in hostilities (1779).

The Spanish province of Louisiana had for its governor at that time Don Bernard de Galvez, who though but a youth in years, has, nevertheless, left a deep impress upon his times and environment by his intrepidity and genius. When the news reached America that Spain had declared war, Galvez promptly took upon himself the conquest of the neighboring British province of West Florida. The Louisianians had never taken kindly to their English neighbors, so Galvez had little difficulty in raising an army. With 1400 men he marched northward from New Orleans, and arriving at Bayou Manchac, stormed and captured Fort Bute. Advancing upon Baton Rouge he invested the place, and after a hot engagement lasting two hours, compelled Colonel Dickinson with a force of five hundred men to surrender. His next undertaking was against Mobile, which surrendered March 14, 1780.

It is needless to say that the achievements of Galvez were viewed with great satisfaction in Spain. Every encouragement was given him to extend his operations. With an expedition fitted out at Havana he embarked for Pensacola. Here he was reinforced by Miro from New Orleans and Espelleta from Mobile. The personal bravery of the young commander was an important factor in his military successes, which was never better exemplified than in the attack upon Pensacola. The fort was taken, and with its fall the Floridas—East and West, by right of conquest, which right was afterwards confirmed by the treaty of 1783—became Spanish territory again. Galvez was made the recipient of many honors. He was commissioned a lieutenant-general, decorated with the cross of knight-pensioner, and made a count. He filled successively the positions of governor of Louisiana; captain-general of Louisiana and Florida; gover-

nor-general of Cuba, the Floridas, and Louisiana ; and viceroy of Mexico. With a record achieved by few he died at the early age of thirty-eight.

During the war of the American Revolution, the region west of the Alleghanies rapidly filled with settlers from the older communities. The years following this period were characterized by a general restlessness. A vague dissatisfaction with the federal government was making itself manifest in this western country. Of the attempts of Spain to encourage the discontent and foment discord in the vain hope that an annexation of it might be brought about, little need be said. Time passed and the thirty-first parallel of latitude was established by treaty (1795) as the line of demarcation between the United States and the Floridas. The territory of Mississippi was organized, and among the many who migrated to this region were those who, attracted by the rich and alluvial lands about Baton Rouge, were not unwilling to place themselves under a foreign jurisdiction by crossing the line of demarcation into West Florida. Among these were some from the eastern part of Tennessee, where the American political instinct of self-government had been unhealthily suppressed in the untimely dissolution of the state of Franklin, or Frankland. This instinct manifested itself amid new surroundings.

In the European complications that arose towards the close of the eighteenth century, France and Spain were arrayed upon the opposite sides of a struggle, one of the results of which was that Spain was compelled to make a retrocession of the territory acquired from France by the treaty of 1763 ; viz., Louisiana and the island of Orleans. This retrocession was consummated by the secret treaty of San Ildefonso (1801) and shortly after (1803) the wrested domain passed by purchase from France to the possession of the United States.

And here it is that authorities differ as to the exact limits of the territory thus acquired by purchase. The fact that West Florida came into the possession of the United States without further purchase or cession has led some to assert that it was included in the Louisiana purchase. President Madison held to this view, notwithstanding much adverse criticism, when, as we shall soon see, he issued his proclamation establishing jurisdiction over the region in question. The fact however remains that the Spaniards continued for seven years to hold undisputed sway, until 1810.

In September of that year West Florida passed from the possession of Spain through no effort of the United States. The Anglo-American spirit transplanted to that region manifested itself in a general desire for independence. A well-planned revolt was successfully instituted. Representatives of the people assembled near Baton Rouge, and the

convention was presided over by John Rhea, with Andrew Steele as secretary. A formal declaration of independence was issued, and a state government organized. Fulwar Skipwith was chosen governor.

Meanwhile the organized forces of the convention had been placed under the command of General Philemon Thomas, a wealthy planter living near Baton Rouge, and he was instructed to reduce the Spanish fort near by. This he succeeded in doing. Delassus, the governor of the province, was away at the time, and the Baton Rouge fort was in command of young Louis de Grandpre, grandson of Carlo de Grandpre, a former governor. In the defense of the fort Grandpre found himself deserted by his men. Nevertheless, he offered stubborn resistance, and in the noble discharge of his duty was slain. The causes which led to the revolt may be best suggested, perhaps, by the words of the "Declaration":

".... Without any hope of protection from the mother country, betrayed by a magistrate whose duty it was to have provided for the safety and tranquillity of the people and government committed to his charge; and exposed to all the evils of a state of anarchy which we have so long endeavored to avert, it becomes our duty to provide for our own security as a free independent state, absolved from all allegiance to a government which no longer protects us."

By quoting further from the instrument we may see in what terms independence was declared:

"We therefore, the representatives aforesaid, appealing to the Supreme Being of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do solemnly publish and declare the several districts composing the territory of West Florida to be a free, independent state; and that they have a right to institute for themselves such form of government as they may think conducive to their safety and happiness; to establish commerce; to provide for the common defence; and to do all acts which may of right be done by a sovereign and independent nation: at the same time declaring all acts within the said territory of West Florida after this date, by any tribunal, or authority not deriving their powers from the people agreeable to the provisions established by this convention, to be null and void; and calling upon all foreign nations to respect this our declaration, acknowledge our independence, and give us such aid as may be consistent with the laws and usages of nations."

Thus was the birth of a new American state proclaimed, and thus did a people wrest from a foreign potentate their liberty and independence. In order to better continue in the enjoyment of these acquired privileges, application was made for admission into the Union. A copy of the

"declaration" was forwarded to the President of the United States, through Governor Holmes of the Mississippi territory, and Rhea, writing under date of October 10, opened communication with the secretary of state at Washington, with a view to either admission or annexation. Inasmuch as the inhabitants had risked both blood and treasure in the acquirement of the territory, it was sought to reserve the public lands to their exclusive benefit. October 27 Madison issued his proclamation declaring West Florida under the jurisdiction of the United States. Governor Claiborne of Orleans territory was ordered to take possession, and repairing to Natchez he organized a small force of mounted militia, entered West Florida, and at St. Francisville, one of the principal towns of the territory, raised the flag of the United States. No opposition was encountered. The newly annexed region was divided into six parishes.

The annexation of West Florida called forth protests from Spain and Great Britain. President Madison maintained that the annexed territory was a part of the Louisiana purchase. This theory precluded the right of the West Florida inhabitants to the exclusive use of the public domain, for considered as a purchase it belonged to all the states in common. Nevertheless, it is yet maintained that the position of President James Madison was untenable, and within recent years a bill has been introduced in congress to indemnify the people of the Florida parishes for the lands to which their ancestors had a clear title. In support of their claim it may be adduced that the negotiations which led to the Louisiana purchase were primarily instituted for the purchase of a site for a depot near the mouth of the Mississippi, so that the commerce and exports of the west might be placed beyond the caprices of the authorities of Louisiana. Negotiations were conducted by the American commissioners just after the San Ildefonso treaty, with France, for the purchase of the Isle of Orleans. In the event of their non-success the commissioners had been authorized to open negotiations with Spain for the purchase of West Florida. They were about to do so when dissuaded by Talleyrand, who shortly after figured so conspicuously in the sale of Louisiana. Furthermore we have it upon the authority of Martin that Talleyrand, in a letter dated December 24, 1804, to the American commissioners, Monroe and Pinckney, who were on their way to Spain to adjust the boundaries between the newly acquired territory of Louisiana and Florida, declares in distinct terms that no part of the territory known and held as West Florida was included in the retrocession by Spain to France; and that in all the negotiations between the two powers, Spain had constantly refused to cede any part, even that portion between the Mississippi and Mobile.

The beginning of the "Free and Independent State of West Florida" dates with the assembling of the convention, September 23, 1810; and its career terminates with the raising of the flag of the United States at St. Francisville, December 6, of the same year. Yet brief as was this career, it was nevertheless active. When the Spanish authorities of Baton Rouge were deposed, it was anticipated that Governor Folch of the Mobile district would attempt to interfere with the organization of the little republic. So the convention posted a line of sentinels along the banks of the Pearl river, the western boundary of the part of West Florida in revolt. The maintenance of this line was found to be an uncertain and expensive means of safety against attack. It was determined to settle the matter at once by a resort to arms. War was declared against Mobile. An expedition under the command of Colonel Reuben Kemper made its way to the shores of Mobile bay, but being poorly equipped was compelled to defer its attack until a supply of arms and munitions could be procured. An agent of Kemper managed to purchase of Henri de la Franci, a citizen of Baton Rouge, a lot of arms; and the convention bought a flat-boat load of western produce, transferred it to a keel-boat and sent it to the relief of Kemper.

Governor Folch was completely demoralized at the display of force made by Kemper; he wrote December 3 to President Madison, imploring the government of the United States to send the garrison of Fort Stoddard to help him "drive Reuben Kemper back to Baton Rouge," and to send commissioners with power to treat for the transfer of Mobile and the rest of the province of West Florida to the United States. Three days later Claiborne reached St. Francisville. Kemper and his men, being without governmental authority to sustain them in their undertaking, made their way back.

The complications that arose between the United States and Spain over the annexation of West Florida and the boundary line between the Louisiana territory and the Spanish possessions in the southwest, were settled by the treaty of 1819. The claim of Spain to Florida was purchased. But authorities certainly err when they assume, either that the whole of the present domain of Louisiana was included in the Louisiana purchase, or that the Florida cession of 1819 included West Florida.

A large, flowing cursive signature in black ink. The name "Henry E. Chambers" is written in a single, continuous stroke. The signature is highly legible, with "Henry" on the first line and "E. Chambers" on the second line. There is a decorative flourish or underline at the end of the signature.

WAS AMERICA DISCOVERED BY THE CHINESE?

The literature on the subject of the discovery of the American continent by Chinese Buddhist priests in the middle of the fifth century exceeds in bulk that on the discovery by Columbus or the Norsemen. Ever since the year 1761, when the great French sinologue, De Guines, gave to the world for the first time the ancient account of the Chinese Hœi-Shin, describing a distant land to which the name of Fûsang was given, the world has been flooded with books, tractates, and pamphlets bearing on the same interesting topic, in which Fûsang is identified as America.

The weight of mere opinion has favored the theory of a Chinese discovery of the American continent, and even as early as 1752 the eyes of European scholars and geographers were greeted with the map of Buache, showing De Guines' hypothetical route of the Chinese across the Pacific in the year 458 to the coast of America. English, French, German, and American savants have contended among themselves; yet, although much real scholarship has been expended, the weight of evidence to those versed in Chinese history and the Chinese language has never appeared great enough to warrant the conclusions of a Chinese discovery and occupancy of the American continent.

Many of those who have been engaged in this controversy have been only slightly acquainted with Chinese subjects, and their statements are at variance with established facts. Some never studied the Chinese language, and were therefore wholly incompetent for the basing of arguments (as some really did) on linguistic grounds. Others became interested and took part in the controversy from its novelty, as was the case with those who have written in the interest of the old Norse navigators. Again, the basis of argument has frequently been exceedingly narrow, investigations having been carried on from a single point of view; as, for instance, the mythological, without reference to the more substantial points of departure which ought to enter into every archæological question. The mythology of ancient Mexico may indeed be shown to have been comparable with that of China, yet a Chinese discovery and occupancy of America cannot be proved in this way.

Archæology is still in its formative state—it has not yet been erected into a science; but the time must come when it will hold as dignified a station in the scientific world as geology. Archæology is now a mass of

theories. Anybody can become an archæologist and gain audiences, provided he has a theory to promulgate. Two chemists analyzing a similar substance could not think of attaining correct results by violating chemical laws, though the details of their methods might lawfully vary. Thus must it be in the future with archæology. The day is coming when archæologists will proceed with their investigations according to scientific methods, whether they concern the question of America's discovery or the beginnings of Egyptian civilization. Had archæology been a science for the past century the question of the Chinese discovery of America would have been settled long ago, instead of continuing to burden us with theories that render a very simple subject very abstruse and difficult of solution.

The basis of the theory that the Chinese discovered our country, or rather what is now Mexico, is found in the following :

First, The story of a Chinaman named Hoei-Shin, extant in the Chinese language, and translated by several scholars into English, French, and German. This account tells us of a voyage to a land named in Chinese Fûsang, in about the year 458 ; the said Chinaman, a Buddhist priest, having returned to China, according to the account, in 499. Fûsang is said to be America. This is what may be called a supposed literary or historical discovery.

Second, The supposed discovery that the geography of the Chinese Fûsang is identical with the geography of Western America.

Third, The supposed discovery that the early accounts of aboriginal Mexico and the Chinese description of Fûsang show the same myths and customs.

Fourth, The supposed discovery that Buddhistic traditions are still prevalent among the Mexican natives.

Fifth, The supposed discovery that the Otomi tribe of Mexico has a monosyllabic language, and that Sanscrit roots are found in the different Mexican languages—relics (it is believed) of the infusion of the Sanscrit language into the native tongue by the Buddhistic Chinese priests, who were acquainted with the Sanscrit language—the sacred language of all Buddhists.

Sixth, The supposed discovery of Chinese jade ornaments in Nicaragua.

Seventh, The supposed discovery by Dr. Harvey of the Chinese symbol *tac-kai* ("the essence of all things") on a monument in Copan.

Let us examine these supposed discoveries according to the above order. First : No sooner was the account of the Chinaman Hoei-Shin given to the world by the French savant De Guines in 1761, than he recognized the country of Fûsang as America. Why did he decide upon this so

suddenly? What reasons did he assign for this identification? None that are of any weight to the scientific mind of the nineteenth century. The account of the Buddhist priest seemed to speak of a distant land reached by sea, but in what direction it lay, and by what marks it could be identified, were enigmas that neither De Guines nor those who favored his theory (even to our own day) have been able to solve. On the arbitrary supposition that Fûsang was America, it was very easy and natural for the theorizers to trace out on a map the route of the Chinese across the Pacific by way of the Keurile and Aleutian islands. The route naturally followed the theoretical identification. Thus we see that the very beginnings of the theory of a Chinese discovery of America arose without the presence of a single fact, historical, geographical, or archæological, to lend it support. A theory is a necessary step toward the acquisition of a great truth, but science demands the concurrent support of facts, since a theory is otherwise merely a guess. Such was De Guines' so-called theory; it was mere supposition or guesswork, since not a single fact was advanced in support of Fûsang having been America. It is needless to waste more time in the consideration of De Guines' theory, since his own work on *Researches on the Navigation of the Chinese to the Coast of America* does not advance a single fact. The French scholars did what any other novelty-loving persons might have done—guessed at it. If De Guines had even offered one important proof in connection with his identification of Fûsang with America, that coming from so learned a man would commend our respectful attention.

Second, Is the geography of Fûsang and Mexico identical? I deny the possibility of elaborating from any Chinese work on travel, by sea or land, a system of "geography." In the Chinese writings many places have been identified, but their geography of the regions traversed is only a mere outline, and no opinions can be formed as to the nature of wide stretches of country. In every Chinese itinerary we may read of "rivers" and "mountains" and "valleys," of "islands," "seas," "bays," and "promontories," but the idea of "geography" is as remote from these writings as is that of geology. The account of Hoci-Shin is not an exception among these works on travel. Its "geography" may as easily be the local description of a small area as of a continent, and may as easily apply to a spot on the Pacific coast of China or Asia as to the whole coast of Mexico or North America. Nature, in her aspects of land and water, mountain and valley, island and peninsula, trees and flowers, does not vary as extensively in the general plan as we are apt to suppose, and the written description is apt to show even more uniformity. A

vivid description of the rugged shores of the Great Lakes might readily be taken by the average person for a presentation of the characteristics of the shores of Norway and Sweden, so much alike are they in a general sense; and when the portrayal is by the hand of a Buddhist priest, ignorant of the nature of geographical relations, ignorant of science, and compelled to use the cumbersome Chinese language as a medium, the probability is that his geographical story will be of so universal a nature that it may apply to a large number of widely separated localities.

Is the geography of Fûsang that of Mexico? He does not say it is not, but something even stronger may be affirmed. We do not find a single fact to warrant our spending one moment on American soil in attempting to identify the geography of Fûsang with that of America (or Mexico)!

Third, The identity of Mexican myths and customs with those of the Fûsang story rests upon as frail a foundation as the preceding. What do we know of them? We are possessed of no native written sources of information. Of the mythology and religion of Mexico, only those of Aztec times are known to us, and even these are vague. Prior to the Aztec came the Toltec, which arose about 700, and the supposed discovery of America (Mexico) by the Chinese took place nearly two hundred and fifty years before this, in 458. Only the exhumed idols and temples afford us any aid in gaining an idea of the religion and mythology of Toltec times, and this knowledge, after successive conquests of the land, without a knowledge of the hieroglyphics, is still very scant. If we know so little of the proud Toltec times, how much less do we know of pre-Toltec days. Of the Toltec celestial hierarchy we have some evidence that there was one supreme god, spiritual and invisible, with a council of thirteen chief gods, over two hundred inferior ones, and these may have been the gods of the land before the coming of the Toltecs. But we know so little of those early days in Mexico that no comparison can be made with the mythology and customs of any other nation or country. If even one fact could be advanced in support of the identity of the mythology of pre-Toltec Mexico and that of the Fûsang record, it ought to gain our sincere attention; but as we know nothing of this pre-Toltec mythology, how can we discuss it?

Fourth, No greater exertion of the imagination has been made in the subject of America's discovery by the Chinese than in the supposed discovery of Buddhistic traditions among the Mexican natives. We fail to recognize any facts in this argument. Men in every clime hand down from age to age identical traditions. Men have been the same the world

over in their gropings after the Infinite, in their search for truth. Iceland and Babylon, with civilizations separated by an interval of three thousand years, tell the same story of primeval chaos and of the first parents of the race—not in detail, to be sure, but in the main points.

Many traditions of ancient Mexico may be among those held by Chinese Buddhists, yet they are not thereby Buddhistic. They are universal. In all the theorizing on this subject not a single tradition distinctively Buddhistic has yet been recognized in Mexico.

Fifth, It is said that the Otomi tribes in Mexico have a monosyllabic language, and that therefore it is a descendant of an early monosyllabic tongue; or, at least, it is a native tongue made largely monosyllabic by long contact with the monosyllabic language of a superior race "supposed" to be the Chinese. This argument is based upon the old and even still surviving idea that the Chinese language is monosyllabic, which is not the truth. The Chinese is, of all languages, the most polysyllabic. I will admit that quite the opposite has been held by great men. In our cyclopaedias and numerous works on language and history, the Chinese language is said to differ from all others in being monosyllabic. Yet it is quite the opposite. In Chinese hardly any object or idea is expressible by a single sign or syllable. The English, Scandinavian, and German languages are far more monosyllabic than Chinese. In English we have God, German Gott, Swedish and Danish Gud, and Icelandic Gudh, for the Supreme Being. Not so in Chinese, since there God is a polysyllabic word, Shang-Ti, the "Upper Ruler." Were the Chinese monosyllabic, the translation of our Bible into that language would certainly have rendered the name "Christ" by a monosyllabic term. On the contrary, it is given in Chinese as *Ke-fok*. It is true there are monosyllabic proper names in Chinese, but were it intrinsically a monosyllabic tongue, all words would of necessity be monosyllables, including proper names. It would be impossible to render "Christ" *Ke-fok* if the language were not polysyllabic. In fact, it is hard for a Chinaman to interpret a monosyllable; to him it generally has no meaning whatever. It is the connection of one syllable with another that he understands. Of course, there are upward of two hundred radical signs, forming the basis of the language, which are monosyllables as in all languages, such as "man," "woman," "horse," "ox," "moon," "sun," "dark," "white," or "clear," which express the earliest attempts of the Chinese to name the various objects and aspects of nature. These do not differ as regards the syllable from corresponding words in English. But beyond these primitive types no idea can be clearly expressed in Chinese with less than two syllables. Even such a familiar idea as *friend* must be

thus written or spoken. The great Chinese scholar Summers, in his handbook of the Chinese language, distinctly asserts the polysyllabic nature of the Chinese language. Is the Otomi language of Mexico monosyllabic? Perhaps it is; but it does not affect the case at hand, since the Chinese is itself eminently polysyllabic.

Sixth, Regarding the supposed Chinese jade ornaments found in Nicaragua and elsewhere, we will accept this as a fact when the ornaments are shown to be Chinese. It does not require much of an eye to detect any object of art coming from Chinese hands, no matter how aged it is. Of the thousands of "jade ornaments" found and called Chinese, not one has been recognized as such by Chinese scholars.

Seventh, Among the countless emblems of a mythological nature amid the ruins of Copan there are hundreds which might be referred as well to Babylon as to China. To form the basis of a theory, the symbol found by Dr. Harvey must be proved to be Chinese. It is merely supposed to be Chinese in origin, although the nature of it would place its origin at the spot where it was discovered, in Copan. All nations are given to symbols. Every nation has had its "*type of the endless and unknown,*" every land has had its "symbol of the essence of all things." Why is the Copan symbol Chinese? Simply because it bears a faint resemblance to a Chinese character. Among thousands and thousands of symbols found in Mexico, one lone emblem is set down as Chinese! Here, as heretofore, a supposition is made part of the basis for a theory.

We have passed in review all the main arguments for a Chinese discovery of America. Are they at all stable? Are there any facts brought forward to support the theory? Not one. The natural conclusion is that there never was any ground for believing that the Chinese discovered America. The island of Formosa, lying within one hundred miles of the greatest maritime province of China, was not discovered by the Chinese until the year 1430, and moreover was not colonized by them until the year 1661, and this discovery was only by accident. Yet the Chinese theorists of America's discovery would have us believe that it was discovered at least as early as the fifth century. The other great islands of the archipelago have been known to China only a few centuries, and their extensive trade with India arose only after the Mahometan conquests gave the Arabs control of the sea trade with the extreme Orient. Even the Chinese themselves did not become venturesome sailors. They put all of their sea trade into Arabian hands, and only a few Chinese got as far as Ceylon. Yet the advocates of America's discovery by these people would have us believe that the Chinese junks braved the Pacific in 458 and colonized

our coast! It is claimed that the Chinese discoverers of America in 458 were Buddhist priests, bent on converting the world to Buddhism. The Japanese were not converted to Buddhism until the middle of the sixth century, and yet it is claimed that the Buddhists a hundred years before this had left Japan behind and planted their religion in America, five thousand miles across a trackless waste! The idea of America having heard the doctrine of Buddha a century before the Japanese empire is so preposterous as to be alone a final and sufficient proof that America was not discovered by Chinese Buddhist priests.

But is the Fûsang country a myth? Could all the writers for the past century have been dealing with a land that never existed? By no means. The Chinaman Hoei-Shin wrote of a definite region, and so have De Guines and others. But had they known more of Asiatic geography—had they lived in this age, when Fûsang is known as well as China itself, the theory of America's discovery by the Chinese would never have been promulgated. To-day we can take passage from 'Frisco in an elegant steamer, and after stopping in Japan go direct to Fûsang on the Pacific coast of Corea, in latitude 35° 6' north and longitude 129° 1' east. There is the long-sought Fûsang of the fifth century. It was there then, and has been there for untold centuries. Fûsang and Ai-Chin (on the west coast of Corea) have been through long centuries the "loop-holes," as one writer has it, of the "hermit nation." To the Chinese and Japanese Fûsang has been known for ages. It has been and is to-day a great cosmopolitan *entrepot* of commerce. No wonder the Buddhists went there, for its soil was rich, its productions varied and numerous. In the war of 1592-97 Fûsang was taken by the Japanese and held until 1868, but was then closed to the latter until 1876, since which time it has steadily gained in commercial importance, and exports what it undoubtedly did when the Buddhist priests began to preach there—silver, hides, fish, rice, silk, cotton, paper, furs, shells, timber, hemp, jute.

Fûsang has been known for centuries. Why it was ever transported to America we cannot tell. In that great work, *Corea the Hermit Nation*, Fûsang is mentioned upward of twelve times on as many different pages. Fûsang has always been in Corea, is now, and ever will be, and therefore America was not discovered by Chinese Buddhist priests.

Alfred Kingsley Glazebrook.

CRAWFORDSVILLE, INDIANA.

PRINCE HENRY THE NAVIGATOR

THE SUBJECT OF OUR FRONTISPICE

1394-1460

One of the most notable figures in that remarkable century of maritime discovery which attracts universal attention at the present moment was Prince Henry of Portugal, who was the first to conceive the bold project of opening a road through the unexplored ocean, and at a time when the formidable waves of the Atlantic were suggestive only of danger and death to mariners. The results of his courage, patience, and foresight contributed largely, if not chiefly, to the impulse which sent Columbus on his western voyages. The known world was curiously small in Prince Henry's boyhood, of which the map on second page of this number of the magazine is a forcible illustration; but before the close of his career the discovery of more than half the globe had been made possible.

He was the third son of King João of Portugal, "of good memory," and Philippa the daughter of John of Gaunt, and his aims even when quite young were directed to a point far beyond the range of a mere conquering soldier. He was twenty-one at the time of the memorable capture of Ceuta—the magnificent port of Morocco, opposite Gibraltar, the centre of commerce between Damascus, Alexandria, and other eastern places, and the nations of western Europe—and his gallantry was so conspicuous in this successful enterprise that he received the honor of immediate knighthood from his father. The prospect was opened to his mind through this event of possessing the Guinea coast and of ultimately finding the end of Africa. His biography, carefully traced by Richard Henry Major, F.S.A., F.R.S.L., the learned honorable secretary of the Royal Geographical Society, was published in London in 1868, and is a volume replete with information, which every student of American history will do well to consult. The ships of the prince were soon venturing along the western Barbary coast, while his captains came back one after another with no very wonderful tidings of discovery.

"Although the son of a king," writes Major, "Prince Henry relinquished the pleasures of the court and took up his abode on the inhospitable promontory of Sagres, at the extreme southwestern angle of Europe.

It was a small peninsula, the rocky surface of which showed no sign of vegetation except a few stunted juniper trees to relieve the sadness of a waste of shifting sand. Another spot so cold, so barren, or so dreary it were difficult to find on the warm and genial soil of sunny Portugal. Here it was in this secluded spot, with the vast ocean stretching measureless and mysterious before him, that Prince Henry devoted himself to the study of astronomy and mathematics, and to the dispatch of vessels on adventurous expeditions. He erected an observatory at Sagres, the first set up in Portugal, and there is reason to believe that he established a school for the study of navigation. To be duly appreciated the comprehensive thought of Prince Henry must be viewed in relation to the period in which it was conceived. No printing-press as yet gave forth to the world the accumulated wisdom and experience of the past. The compass though known and in use had not yet emboldened men to leave the shore and put out with confidence into the open sea ; no sea-chart existed to guide the mariner along those perilous African coasts ; no lighthouse reared its friendly head to warn or welcome him on his homeward track. The scientific and practical appliances which were to render possible the discovery of half a world had yet to be developed. But the prince collected the information supplied by ancient geographers, unweariedly devoted himself to the study of mathematics, navigation, and cartography, and freely invited, with princely liberality of reward, the co-operation of the boldest and most skillful navigators of every country.

We look back with astonishment and admiration at the stupendous achievement effected a whole lifetime later by the immortal Columbus, an achievement which formed the connecting link between the old world and the new ; yet the explorations instituted by Prince Henry of Portugal were in truth the anvil upon which that link was forged : at the same time, how many are there in England, the land of sailors, who even know the name of the illustrious man who was the very initiator of continuous Atlantic exploration ? If it be the glory of England that by means of her maritime explorations the sun never sets upon her dominions, she may recall with satisfaction that he who opened the way to that glory was the son of a royal English lady and of the greatest king that ever sat on the throne of Portugal.

When we see the small population of the narrow strip of the Spanish peninsula, limited both in means and men, become in an incredibly short space of time a mighty maritime nation, not only conquering the islands and western coasts of Africa and rounding the southern cape, but creating empires and founding capital cities at a distance of two thousand leagues

from their homesteads, we are tempted to suppose that such results must have been brought about by some happy stroke of luck. Not so : they were the effects of the patience, wisdom, intellectual labor, and example of one man, backed by the pluck of a race of sailors who, when we consider the means at their disposal, have been unsurpassed as adventurers in any country or in any age."

Arthur Helps remarks that the especial reason which impelled Prince Henry to take the burden of discovery upon himself was that neither mariner nor merchant would be likely to adopt an enterprise in which there was no clear hope of profit. In 1418 two young captains, Joham Goncalvez Zarco and Tristam Vaz, who it is said were as eager for adventure as the prince himself, were ordered on a voyage having for its object the general molestation of the Moors and discovery. They were driven out of their course by storms, and accidentally discovered a little island, where they took refuge, and called it Porto Santo. They found a simple people living there not altogether barbarous, and their reports on their return delighted the prince. He immediately sent them out again, together with a third ship commanded by Bartholomew Perestrelo (whose daughter subsequently became the wife of Columbus), and with these heroic navigators he sent various seeds and animals for the purpose of improving the island. Among the animals were some rabbits, and they conquered the new-found land not for the prince but for themselves, giving great trouble. To Perestrelo Prince Henry gave the island of Porto Santo, to colonize it. The other two captains, seeing something like a cloud in the far distance, which evidently was not a cloud, built two boats and went toward it, until they discovered another island, which they named Madeira, landing on different parts of it, and the prince rewarded them with the captaincies of those parts.

Meanwhile a dozen years rolled on, and Prince Henry had yet won very little sympathy in his exploits from his contemporaries, some of whom said "the land the prince sought was merely some sandy place like the deserts of Libya," and criticised the "taking people out of Portugal which had need of them, to bring them among savages to be eaten, and to place them upon lands of which the mother-country had no need ; that the Author of the world had provided these islands solely for the habitation of wild beasts, of which an additional proof was that those rabbits the discoverers themselves had introduced were now dispossessing them of the island."

It was not until 1434 that Prince Henry's captains succeeded in passing the dreaded Cape Bajador—which was a great event in the history of Afri-

can discovery. From this time forward these captains continued, season by season, to make steady advance in their explorations. The enthusiasm of Prince Henry in his belief that there was a great southern point of Africa had been imparted to all his followers. In 1454 Ca da Mosta had an interview with Prince Henry, and was evidently much impressed by his noble bearing. "At this period," says Arthur Helps, "the annals of maritime discovery are fortunately enriched by the account of a voyager who could tell more of the details of what he saw than we have hitherto heard from other voyagers, and who was himself his own chronicler." Ca da Mosta was a Venetian, familiar with the trade of Venice and with some experience as a shipmaster, who sought and obtained employment from Prince Henry, being furnished with a caravel and goods to use in trafficking with the people he might find. His narrative of the expedition discloses the methods of trading off merchandise for slaves. He was the first European visiting Africa to write about the country, and being honest, intelligent and observing, the legacy of information handed down to us from his hand is exceedingly valuable.

Faria y Souza says of Prince Henry, "He had a grandeur of nature proportionate to the greatness of his doings; he was bulky and strong; his complexion red and white; his hair coarse and almost hirsute; his aspect produced fear in those who were not accustomed to him—not to those who were, for, even in the strongest current of his vexation at any thing, his courtesy always prevailed over his anger; he had a grave serenity in his movements, a notable constancy and circumspection in his words, modesty in all that related to his state and personal observance within the limits of his high fortune; he was patient in labor, bold and valorous in war, versed in arts and letters; a skillful fencer; in the mathematics superior to all men of his time; generous in the extreme; zealous in the extreme for the increase of the faith. No bad habit was known to him. He never married." Azurara, sometimes quoted as the "good chronicler," who was a contemporary of Prince Henry, and must have known him well, says he was a man "of great counsel and authority, wise and of good memory, but in some things slow, whether it was through the prevalence of the phlegmatic temperament in his constitution or from intentional deliberation, being moved to some end which men did not perceive." The chronicler further says, "There was no hatred known in him, nor ill-will against any person, however great the injury he had received from that person; and such was his benignity in this respect that judicious men remarked against him that he was deficient in distributive justice, for in all other respects he conducted himself justly."

We learn also from Azurara that the house of Prince Henry was the resort of all good men in the kingdom and of foreigners, and that he was a man of intense labor and study. "Often the sun found him in that same place where it had left him the day before, he having watched throughout the whole arc of the night without any rest."

Arthur Helps thinks the portrait of Prince Henry gives the idea of a man of great deliberation, but with no laxity of purpose. He does not say to which portrait he refers, but it could hardly be the youthful head shown in the miniature portrait which appears in Major's *Prince Henry*, and which at the time of the publication of that work, the author supposed to be the only portrait extant; but he probably had seen the portrait of Prince Henry in maturer life, from which the picture presented in this number of the magazine was copied. Arthur Helps further says: "Whether we consider this prince's motives, his objects, his deeds or his mode of life, we must acknowledge him to be one of the most notable men not merely of his own country and period, but of modern times and of all nations, and one upon whose shoulders might worthily rest the arduous beginnings of continuous maritime discovery. Would that such men remained to govern the lands they had the courageous foresight to discover!"

Dr. Justin Winsor in his new work *Christopher Columbus* says of Prince Henry: "He was a man who, as his motto tells us, wished and was able to do well. He was shadowed with few infirmities of spirit. He was the staple and lofty exemplar of this great age of discovery. He was more so than Columbus, and rendered the adventitious career of the Genoese possible. He knew how to manage men, and stuck devotedly to his work. He respected his helpers too much to drug them with deceit, and there is a straightforward honesty of purpose in his endeavors. He was a trainer of men, and they grew courageous under his instruction."

During forty years of limited success Prince Henry prosecuted this perilous work. Portuguese discovery did not cease after his death, but in the following years made its way to the Cape of Good Hope, in all a distance of some six thousand miles. Portuguese vessels were small but well built, and their seamen were experts in guiding them along tempestuous shores. Don Emanuel caught the spirit in his day, whose pet problem was a passage to India around Africa. This voyage was actually performed in 1498 by Vasco da Gama. He returned to Portugal with his four ships laden with spices, silks, and other attractive merchandise, and all Europe was in the wildest excitement.

THE SCOT IN AMERICA

The mind which merely scans the boundaries, to learn the area of a nation, and studies its physical geography, its climate and its soil, to learn its character, would never find itself competent to measure that nation's greatness.

"What constitutes a state ?
Not high-raised battlement, or labored mound,
Thick wall, or moated gate,
Not cities fair, with spires and turrets crowned,
No ; men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued,
In forest, brake or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude ;
Men who their duties know,
Know, too, their rights, and knowing dare maintain,
Prevent the long-aimed blow,
And crush the tyrant while they rend the chain."

Many a spot of earth, rich in soil and favored by climate, has remained fallow since creation's dawn, simply because God saw fit to people it with creatures unfitted mentally or physically for the struggles daily endured on the great battle-fields of the world's civilization. Other spots, rugged and barren, hard of access, and rewarding sparingly the hand of toil, have become gardens of intellect, and produced men born to rule, born to do and dare, born to build up a state at home, in spite of adversity, in spite of the terrors and devastations of centuries of war and struggle for statehood and liberty; and the home of statesmen from which, as from a hive, were to go forth the founders of new states, the pioneers of civilization throughout the world.

Such a spot was Scotland. From her *craigs* and plains, her rock-ribbed hills and streamy vales, have swarmed men who fill the definition quoted, and to her and to them America owes much of its political greatness as a nation.

Near the head-waters of the stately Hudson, in beautiful verdurous valleys, among the forest covered hills and mountains which are spurs of the Laurentian range, where cool and limpid rivulets tumble from the mountain side to find outlet through beautiful lakes and winding streams to the great river, and where every surrounding must have served to

remind the settler of the wimpling burns, the lochs, the banks and braes of his own loved Scotland, his early home, there was early planted and yet exists a community almost unique, for if a list of its family names were called, you might almost imagine yourself listening to a roll-call of the clans of Scotland, and might well look to see if the fiery cross which assembles the clans to battle would not accompany the roll-call.

Among these scenes and these people was my birthplace, and the home where I grew to manhood; and I now recall none other than Scottish names as memories of my childhood. Listen to some of them, not selected, but taken as the crow might fly from roof-tree to roof-tree, in that wonderful bit of mosaic transplanted from the rocks and soil of Scotia to the rocks and soil of America.

There was McDougall, McKeachie, and Mills; Gillis, Gibson, and Gilchrist; Robertson, Ramsey, and Reid; Gow, Guthrie, and Graham; McNab, McKaller, and McEachron; McGeoch, McArthur, and McNeil; Stevenson, Stewart, and Scott; McWhorter and McKeen; Armstrong, Bain, and Campbell; Foster, Fraser, and Savage, and many another, representing nearly every family name and portion of Scotland, from the highlands even to the lowlands.

Cameronian, Burgher, and Antiburgher were all represented there. There were descendants of men and women in that community who had dared and suffered for the covenant, and whose Church had been the conventicle.

God fearing, justice loving, and true hearted men and women were they all. No crime was known among them, and even petty offenses were reduced to a minimum under the influence of their strong but narrow creed.

There was the same combination of freedom of thought and bigotry, reason and superstition, hospitality and "nearness," frankness and concealment, which characterizes the Scot in other lands. Sturdy in thought, resolute in action, firm in the faith, content with what God gave them, there has gone forth from the loins of that settlement an army of men who have become legislators, congressmen, judges, and governors of states, and one who has worthily filled the executive chair of the nation.

The youth of thirty years ago was taught continually that "the chief end of man is to glorify God and enjoy him forever," but he could find in many a loft and attic the good broad-sword or clumsy musket which had been out in the "forty-five," and had again perhaps done yeoman service in the French and Indian wars, and in the war for American independence. He could find, too, quaint and curious volumes of Scottish romance and

poetry, history and fable, if he were only curious enough to pass by such entertaining books as *Baxter's Saints' Rest*, the *Westminster Catechism and Confession of Faith*, and *Rouse's Version of David's Psalms*, to reach the forbidden fruit from the higher shelves, or seek for it in the closets and chests of drawers to which they had been banished as too frivolous to be placed in the hands of the young, and too valuable, by reason of old associations, to be destroyed.

From these, and from the stories heard at the knee of some old mother in Israel, what wealth was opened to the eye and ear of the child as he listened with awe to tales of the Bruce and Wallace from one source, and startling tales of warlocks and witches from the other. Do you deem it strange that in all that community one rarely heard of a Burns, and had never listened to the sweet, rhythmic music of his songs?

If you do so think, reflect upon the character of that people, learn the history of their colony and its surroundings. Away back in the French and Indian wars, one Captain Laughlin Campbell had won such distinction as to gain for him the promise, so seldom fulfilled, of a reward from the Crown. It came to his descendants in the shape of a grant of wild lands in the wilderness through which their ancestor had marched and fought, and in 1765 another Campbell led a colony into those wilds, and named their settlement for their noble kinsman the Duke of Argyle. Others followed, but they were all of that stamp who knew not the gentle bard, the poet of the people, and had they known him, or of him, would have deemed him too frivolous to listen to, and his poems unfit to be placed for a moment beside the Psalms of David. Knowing this, it is easy to understand how it was that another generation had to grow up under the family roof, which looked with longing eyes through the mists of the Kirk toward old Scotland, and reached out its heart with loving tenderness as it listened with quickened ears to the notes of Scotia's sweetest bard.

It was from memories such as these that I was led to notice in some degree the influence of Scotsmen, with training in Scottish thought, Scottish faith, and years of Scottish inheritance, in molding the new nation into form and giving it character and tone for all time to come. It is doubtful whether any nationality has had so great an influence in forming, fostering, sustaining, and expanding the American Republic as has the "Canny Scot." Whether it be true or not, that when the north pole is reached a Scotchman will be found there "speerin what ye cam for," it is certain that you can hardly go so far back into the history of America that you will not find a Scotsman in the lead.

In 1609 when Champlain sailed up the St. Lawrence and into the

great lake which bears his name, there was with him a man who won renown as a St. Lawrence pilot—"Abraham Martin, alias the Scot." He located at Quebec, reared a family there, and immortalized his Christian name by giving it to that famous battle-field made illustrious by Scotsmen—the Plains of Abraham. When, twenty years later, Champlain evacuated Fort St. Louis, surrendering to the squadron of Charles I., it was a Scot who succeeded to the government of Quebec Admiral Louis Kirke.

Five years before the second conquest of Canada, three Scotsmen were taken prisoners in the border wars and led captive to Quebec. They were Major Robert Stobo of the Virginia troops, Lieutenant Stevenson of Roger's Rangers, and a Leith carpenter named Clarke. Stobo became a general favorite and won the hearts of his foes and of the *belles dames* and *demoiselles*, so that he was *feted* and feasted, and permitted to go in all directions in and about the settlement. These privileges he turned to good account, not only to successfully plan and carry out an escape for the trio, but for the final success of the British cause, for when the immortal Wolfe, himself of Scottish blood, led his army to victory upon the Plains of Abraham, it was Stobo who was at his side, the unerring guide who pointed out the place for landing, and led the way up the steep ascent to the rear of the castle walls. The commander-in-chief General Amherst was another Scot and instead of an army of Englishmen it was an army of Scotchmen who conquered New France and brought it under the dominion of the British Crown.

After each of the Scotch rebellions of 1685 and 1745, there was a hegira from the highlands to the new world of men seeking a place of refuge from the cruel punishments which the Crown began visiting upon its rebellious subjects. The headsman's block, the pauperizing of families by confiscation of property and burning of homes drove out thousands to find new homes where they might be free. The provinces of New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, the Carolinas and Georgia received most of the benefit of this invasion of a splendid stock of brave, hardy Protestants and rebels from the highlands of Scotland.

Great numbers of them were enrolled in the regiments known as the "Royal Americans" and the "Rangers," selected troops formed for service against the red savage then devastating the frontier and threatening the settlements. A more humane policy was adopted by the home government, and the highland rebels were enrolled in the service of the king and sent to America. They were led by such officers as Fraser of Lovat, the McPhersons, the Douglasses, and many others renowned in the annals of Scotland, and constituted the advance guard of civilization, the line of

defense against all outward foes, the living wall interposed between frontier cabins and the red-skinned hordes whose warfare was cruelty unrefined, and who were more merciless than the wild beasts of their own boundless forests. So when Wolfe had fallen on the Plains of Abraham, and his heroic spirit was winging its flight through the smoke of battle, amidst the shouts of victory, it was Fraser with his kilted Highlanders who received the second surrender of Quebec, the keys being delivered by a French-born Scotsman, Major de Ramezy, Lieutenant du Roy. This French-born Scot delivered the fortress to General James Murray, a Scotsman who became the first British governor of Canada.

The chain of forts established to protect the frontier from the head of Lake Champlain on the east, to the Mississippi on the west, Ticonderoga, William Henry, Du Quesne, Venango, Detroit, Mackinac, Chicago, and Fort Wayne, was manned by detachments of the Royal Americans, nearly every man of whom was a Scot. It was Colonel Hector Munro, with his Highlanders, who was defeated and his command so ruthlessly slaughtered at the head of the beautiful lake of the Sacrament, Lake George. It was Scotchmen under Scotch officers who banished themselves into the wilderness to give their bodies to the tomahawk, scalping knife and the tortures of the stake, protecting the home of the settler, while at the same time, by years of glorious devotion to the cause of country, leading a life of danger often ending in death by terrible sufferings in the slow tortures of the burning fagot, they blazed the pathway through these western wilds for the onward march of the grandest civilization the world has yet known, or human intelligence has dreamed of.

Let no American, much less Americans of Scottish blood, forget what we owe to that great regiment which stretched out its thin lines by the left flank for a thousand miles into the primeval wilds of a new continent, and dared the dangers, privations and sufferings of the most inhuman warfare the world's history has recorded, to create and defend the highway for the onward, westward march of American civilization; and General Forbes, a Scot, had the fortune to wrest from the French the key to the western gateway, Fort Du Quesne.

When the time came to question the right of opposition to the encroachments of the king upon the rights of the colonist, who can estimate the influence of the survivors of the Scottish rebellion and their sons, in forming the sentiment of patriotism which was to cause the shadow of the Crown to disappear from our shores?

The rebel and the Protestant, not far from synonymous terms, were able to pour their rebellious thoughts and protesting ideas into willing ears,

and they contributed much to the molding of the sentiment which began by defying kings, and ended by making a free Republic where every man should be a sovereign.

Patrick Henry of Virginia, son of a Scotsman, struck the keynote of revolution and independence when he loudly and boldly proclaimed that "Resistance to Tyrants is Obedience to God," and he more than any other led the way to national independence. The fires of patriotism burned brightest and with the most enduring flame where the fugitive rebels of 1745 had found new homes, and the history of the revolutionary period, and its muster rolls, teem with names of Scots who became the patriots, statesmen, and heroes of the new-born nation. In the battles which made this the home of liberty, none were fought in which Scotsmen did not bear a part, and a noble, conspicuous part; and were their names erased, meagre indeed would be the list of heroes.

While the war cloud overhung the land, and the savage allies of the British king were holding carnival in deeds of bloody cruelty, one of the most pathetic tragedies occurred in the Scottish community first mentioned. To the east of Argyle was the colony of New Perth. Le Loup, a savage chief in the employ of Burgoyne, commenced here a murderous foray, marking out a bloody trail of some twenty miles through Argyle to Fort Edward, leaving in his path dead bodies of the unsuspecting settlers, sparing from the scalping knife neither age nor sex, and burning the lately peaceful homes as he passed. Many a Scotch family on that dreadful route was obliterated, and many a wail for dear ones ruthlessly murdered long went up to heaven from those beautiful vales. To this same band reeking with the blood and decked with the scalps of her kin, was strangely committed the custody of that unfortunate maiden, whose sad death has been the theme of history, romance and song for more than a century, the sweet-faced, black-haired Scotch lassie, who fell under the tomahawk of her guides while on her way to her lover's arms—poor, hapless, helpless Jane McCrea.

And, while the battles of the Revolution were being fought in the east, a band of heroes, or rather several of them, guarded the rear doors of the nation against the treachery of savage foes, who were inspired to war against us by the British in the north and the Spaniard in the south.

It was a Scot, General Lachlin McIntosh, who was in command of the western department in 1778, and made the unsuccessful attempt to seize Detroit. In 1780 another Scot, General William Irvine, took command, and nobly filled the station. His second in command was Colonel John

Gibson, and with him we find such familiar names as Hays, Carmichael, Marshal, and Campbell. It was another Scot, Colonel William Crawford, whom Irvine sent to lead the unfortunate expedition against Sandusky in 1782. His field officers had three Scots in their number, Majors David Williamson, Thomas Gaddis, and John McClelland. It was Crawford's fate, great-souled man and brave soldier as he was, to meet a terrible defeat, to see his gallant command almost annihilated, and himself made a captive, reserved for a more horrible fate than had befallen those who had the good fortune to fall in the midst of the fray. His savage captors doomed him to the stake, and for twelve long hours, from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, he walked upon live coals in the midst of burning fagots the little circle his thongs permitted, enduring tortures unspeakable, until kind death came to end his sufferings.

It was another Scot, the brave but unfortunate St. Clair, who led a brave army into the western wilderness and to its doom, in a further attempt to redeem the northwest from savage dominion; and another, George Rogers Clark, who taught the savage to fear and respect our arms, and led the way for his final subjection. It was still another, the trusted friend and confidant of Washington, General James Robertson, who led a colony a thousand miles into the wilderness to found Nashville, and laid the foundation as well for a southwestern empire—a man whose cool courage and unexampled wisdom led the colony safely through twenty years of savage warfare inspired by Spanish intrigue, until at last, the nation at peace, but while he was still engaged in its service, though enfeebled by age and wounds received in Indian warfare, his heroic soul departed, leaving a name honored and revered by posterity and a grateful country.

Very many of the names appended to the immortal declaration of independence are names of Scotia's sons. The last royal governor of the province of New York was General James Robertson, born in Fifeshire, and his departure was the dawn of peace and freedom to the land. The first secretary of war of the new republic was General Henry Knox; the first secretary of the treasury was that unrivalled financier of his day, Alexander Hamilton; the second secretary of state was Edmund Randolph; the first secretary of the navy Benjamin Stoddert, and the first secretary of the interior Thomas Ewing—Scotsmen all or the descendants of Scots.

If you scan the lists of cabinet officers from that day down, you will find half at least were possessors of Scottish names. The great chief-justice, not the first, but he who by his judicial decisions did more than any other to crystallize and make permanent what our Revolutionary

heroes fought for, national unity in the bonds of constitutional government, was John Marshall, the descendant of a Scotch emigrant.

Who fails to recognize as of true Scot's blood among our Presidents, those who bear the names of Adams, Monroe, Tyler, Jackson, Taylor, Buchanan, Grant, Johnson, Hayes, and Arthur?

Among the statesmen of the day, who so dull as not to recognize in those names, and the names of Calhoun, Randolph, Webster and a host of others, the names familiar to every part of Scotland, and on every page of its history? It was General Winfield Scott, a worthy descendant of border heroes, who won laurels in three American wars, and died covered with honors, and loved by his countrymen. Can we mistake the origin of such names as our late civil war has made household words, and inscribed in letters of gold in the pages of history, both north and south—names of Grant, McClellan, McDowell, McPherson, Burnside, Logan, Johnston, Jackson, Gordon, Breckinridge and many others?

Instances might be multiplied, but to what end? It is in no spirit of boasting or self-laudation that every Scot must feel proud of what his race has done for America. But to every true Scotchman who now finds his home in this magnificent country his forerunners and kinsmen helped to carve out of a wilderness almost impenetrable, it should be an incentive to loyalty, to patriotism, to all that is good and great in what goes to make up national life and honor, to remember that those compatriots, whether in civil or military life, whether called to a public career or quietly pursuing humbler avocations, have added lustre to the pages of history, laurels to the republic as well to the chaplet which graces dear old Scotland, mother of heroes, statesmen, philosophers, and ambassadors of Heaven, who have faithfully served God and man in every clime and every nation which meets and greets the circling sun.

R. S. Robertson,

ARNOLD'S RESIDENCE IN PHILADELPHIA

[In 1778 Benedict Arnold commanded in Philadelphia, residing a portion of the time in a beautiful mansion situated on the banks of the Schuylkill, built in 1761, and owned by Mr. John MacPherson. He married the beautiful daughter of Judge Shippen, of Philadelphia. In 1779 the mansion became the property of Arnold through conveyance from MacPherson. Subsequently, after Arnold's treason, the property was confiscated by the government.]

More than a hundred years ago,
Here, in this mansion stately, still,
Dwelt one of proud, yet jealous will,
In whom a trust was placed, but, lo!
Who yet that mighty trust betrayed!
A lonely spot—this mansion old,
These grounds, where once with step so bold
He paced in odd, lone hours, and laid
His plans for future glory, and
So little dreaming what the years
Would bring to him in woe and tears,
His name a scorn in every land.
Hard by, the Schuylkill's waters lave
The beauteous shore where, oft, he stood
With beating heart and mused. Ah! would
This man had but been strong to save
Himself when tempted; strong, indeed;
Ay, strong as excellence is strong.
But no; like one of old whose wrong
Will ever live, he would not heed
The voice of conscience, and he fell!
The whole world knows the story well;
While round this place, part of his fame,
The soft air whispers Arnold's name.

Geo. Newell Longfellow

JOHN BADOLLET, 1758-1837

ALBERT GALLATIN'S EARLY INTIMATE FRIEND

It is not simply his unique position that gives importance to this pioneer in the state of Indiana. It is rather because the fact makes him of necessity the founder of government and the social order of things, and develops in him that which might, with another environment, have lain dormant or whose existence he himself might not even have suspected. Yet the very fact of ceasing to lead a vegetative existence in a long-established community, and of striking boldly into a new and untried country, is evidence of strong character. John Badollet was, in no respect, a brilliant man. Yet he displayed a firm, quiet individuality, and in an unostentatious manner became one of the important factors in the founding of the commonwealth. Indiana history with his name left out would be incomplete. He was one of the charter members of the board of trustees for the Vincennes university. For years he was one of its most earnest supporters, serving on important committees—that on rules, on locating of the lands, and many others; almost every page of the records shows his intelligent progressive interest in the establishing of the institution. It is said that his personal influence with the secretary of the treasury of the United States was employed in securing the grant of the township of land. His family is an ancient one. I have seen the genealogy reaching back to 1555, when the Savoyard Jacques Badollet became a citizen of Geneva. Thence tracing forward, through Guillaume, four Pierres, to François who married N. Vivier in 1755; they were the parents of Jean Louis Badollet, the subject for our sketch, born in 1758. These generations furnished three or four members of the great council and other state officers, and among them were several scholars of considerable reputation. It would appear that they were Protestants, and that John Badollet was sent to college and educated for a Lutheran clergyman.

John seems not to have taken kindly to the theological idea, for we find him leaving for America at the early age of twenty, and long after, in his old age, he had the reputation of being extremely liberal in his religious beliefs. We might well expect advanced political, educational, and religious beliefs from one who lived under the influences of the age which produced a Rousseau. The story has been handed down in the family

that he and Albert Gallatin were fast friends while yet in Geneva, and that not having money enough for both to come to America they combined purses, Gallatin coming in 1776 and sending back money for Badollet who came the next year. About the year 1787 Mr. Badollet married Margaret Hanna, a woman of particularly sweet disposition, and settled in northwestern Pennsylvania, at a little place called Geneva, where he continued to live for several years, possibly till his removal to Vincennes in 1804. In Pennsylvania all his children were born, and here continued except for a short time that strong friendship for Gallatin, who, meanwhile, had risen to great political prominence. Badollet's sympathies and support were with the whiskey insurrectionists. To one filled with the popular idea of personal liberty of the day, this would be the natural course under the circumstances. It is more than probable that Mr. Jefferson's appointment of Badollet as register of the land office at Vincennes was due to the personal favor of his old friend Gallatin. It is to the credit of Badollet, as well as of the Presidents who succeeded, that he held the office uninterruptedly for thirty-two years, until 1836, his eldest son, Albert, succeeding him. It was in the year of his appointment, 1804, that he took up his residence in Vincennes, where he continued to reside until his death in 1837. In all public enterprises he was active. He was one of the founders of the Vincennes library association in 1806 as well as of the university in 1806. By will he left his French books to the Vincennes library, now the property of the university. He was a warm personal friend of Harrison until the slavery question caused a difference, which cooled their friendship. A lasting friendship existed between himself and Francis Vigo also. Two things give him especial prominence in the early history of the state, the one his work in the constitutional convention of 1816, the other his part in the preparation of the law for the school system. His family have the legend of his having penned important parts of the constitution of 1816. It is certain that he was a member of three important committees in the constitutional convention, viz.: the committee on bill of rights and preamble, the one on education, and that on general revision. It is to his part on this latter committee that some of his most important work is assigned. The Knox delegation was the strongest, and John Badollet was one of its strong members. As to the other matter which reflects high honor upon his name I quote from Dillon: "By a joint resolution of the general assembly of January 9th, 1821, John Badollet and David Hart of Knox county, Wm. Martin of Washington county, James Welsh of Switzerland, Daniel Caswell of Franklin, Thos. Searle of Jefferson, and John Todd of Clark county were appointed a committee to draft

and report to the next legislature of Indiana a bill providing a general system of education. . . . The labors of the committee, thus appointed . . . were incorporated in the first general school law of Indiana." Any one who is familiar with Badollet's character and ideas would know that he was one of the most important elements of the committee. The library, the university, the state constitution, and the state school system —was it not a matter of high honor to have been instrumental in the founding of each? His name will always be an important one in Indiana and Vincennes history. He died at the ripe age of seventy-nine. He had five children, all of whom survived him: Albert, Frances Gilham, James, Sarah Caldwell, and Algernon Sidney. Among his children and grandchildren have been several graduates of West Point.

In personal appearance Mr. Badollet was rather short and somewhat stout. When sitting one would think him a tall man, but when standing he was below the average in stature. His complexion was light rather than dark. He was very careful of his personal appearance, and is said by those who knew him to have been a polished gentleman. He was quite eccentric, especially in later life. It was his especial direction in his will that no funeral notices should be printed at his death, that his coffin should be of stained poplar, and he specified also that nothing should be placed on his tombstone except the simple words, "John Badollet."

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "E.A. Bryan".

VINCENNES UNIVERSITY, VINCENNES, INDIANA.

PATRICK HENRY AND JOHN ADAMS ON
GOVERNMENT MAKING

CORRESPONDENCE IN MAY AND JUNE, 1776

Patrick Henry to John Adams

" WILLIAMSBURG, 20th May, 1776

My dear sir:

Your favor with the pamphlet came safe to hand. I am exceedingly obliged to you for it; and I am not without hopes it may produce good here, where there is among most of our opulent families a strong bias to aristocracy. I tell my friends you are the author. Upon that supposition, I have two reasons for liking the book. The sentiments are precisely the same I have long since taken up, and come recommended by you. Go on, my dear friend, to assail the strongholds of tyranny; and in whatever form oppression may be found, may those talents and that firmness which have achieved so much for America be pointed against it.

Before this reaches you, the resolution for finally separating from Britain will be handed to Congress by Colonel Nelson. I put up with it in the present form for the sake of unanimity. 'Tis not quite so pointed as I could wish. Excuse me for telling you of what I think of immense importance; 'tis to anticipate the enemy at the French Court. The half of our continent offered to France may induce her to aid our destruction, which she certainly has the power to accomplish. I know the free trade with all the states would be more beneficial to her than any territorial possessions she might acquire. But pressed, allured, as she will be—but, above all, ignorant of the great things we mean to offer, may we not lose her? The consequence is dreadful. Excuse me again. The confederacy; that must precede an open declaration of independency and foreign alliances. Would it not be sufficient to confine it, for the present, to the objects of offensive and defensive natures, and a guaranty of the respective colonial rights? If a minute arrangement of things is attempted, such as equal representation, etc., etc., you may split and divide; certainly will delay the French alliance, which with me is everything. The great force in San Domingo, Martinique, etc., is under the guidance of some person in high office. Will not the Mississippi lead your ambassadors thither most safely?

Our convention is now employed in the great work of forming a constitution. My most esteemed republican poem has many and powerful enemies. A silly thing, published in Philadelphia, by a native of Virginia, has just made its appearance here, strongly represented, 'tis said, by one of our delegates now with you—Braxton. His reasonings upon and distinction between private and public virtue, are weak, shallow and evasive, and the whole performance an affront and disgrace to this country; and, by one expression, I suspect his whiggism. Our session will be very long, during which I cannot count upon one coadjutor of talents equal to the task. Would to God you and your Sam Adams were here! It shall be my incessant study, so to form our portrait of government, that a kindred with New England may be discerned in it, and if all your excellencies cannot be preserved, yet I hope to retain so much of the likeness, that posterity shall pronounce us descended from the same stock. I shall think perfection is obtained if we have your approbation. I am forced to conclude; but first let me beg to be presented to my ever-esteemed S. Adams. Adieu, my dear sir; may God preserve you, and give you every good thing.

P. HENRY, Jr.

To John Adams, Esq.

P. S.—Will you and S. A. now and then write?"

John Adams to Patrick Henry

"PHILADELPHIA, June 3, 1776

My dear sir:

I had this morning the pleasure of yours of 20, May. The little pamphlet you mention is *nullius filius*; and if I should be obliged to maintain it, the world will not expect that I should own it. My motive for inclosing it to you, was not the value for the present, but as a token of friendship, and more for the sake of inviting your attention to the subject than because there was anything in it worthy your perusal. The subject is of infinite moment, and perhaps more than adequate to the abilities of any man in America. I know of none so competent to the task as the author of the first Virginia resolutions against the Stamp Act, who will have the glory with posterity of beginning and concluding this great revolution. Happy Virginia, whose constitution is to be framed by so masterly a builder! Whether the plan of the pamphlet is not too popular, whether the elections are not too frequent for your colony, I know not. The usages, the genius and manners of the people must be consulted. And if annual elections of the representatives of the people

are sacredly preserved, those elections by ballot, and none permitted to be chosen but inhabitants, residents as well as qualified freeholders of the city, county, parish, town or borough for which they are to serve—three essential prerequisites of a free government—the council, or middle branch of legislation may be triennial, or even septennial, without much inconvenience. I esteem it an honor and a happiness, that my opinion so often coincides with yours. It has ever appeared to me that the natural course and order of things was this: for every colony to institute a government; for all the colonies to confederate, and define the limits of the continental constitution; then to declare the colonies a sovereign state, or a number of confederated sovereign states; and last of all, to form treaties with foreign powers. But I fear we cannot proceed systematically, and that we shall be obliged to declare ourselves independent states, before we confederate, and indeed before all the colonies have established their governments.

It is now pretty clear that all these measures will follow one another in a rapid succession, and it may not perhaps be of much importance which is done first. The importance of an immediate application to the French Court was clear; and I am very much obliged to you for your hint of the route by the Mississippi. Your intimation that the session of your representative body would be long, gave me great pleasure, because we all look to Virginia for examples; and in present perplexities, dangers and distresses of our country, it is necessary that the supreme councils of the colonies should be almost constantly sitting. Some colonies are not sensible of this; and they will certainly suffer for their indiscretion. Events of such magnitude as those which present themselves now in such quick succession require constant attention and mature deliberation. The little pamphlet you mention, which was published here as an antidote to the *Thoughts on Government*, and which is whispered to have been the joint production of one native of Virginia and two natives of New York, I know not how truly, will make no fortune in the world. It is too absurd to be considered twice; it is contrived to involve a colony in eternal war.

The duns, the bashaws, the grandes, the patricians, the sachems, the nabobs, call them by what name you please, sigh, and groan, and fret, and sometimes stamp, and foam, and curse, but all in vain. The decree is gone forth, and it cannot be recalled, that a more equal liberty than has prevailed in other parts of the earth must be established in America. That exuberance of pride which has produced an insolent domination in a few, a very few opulent, monopolizing families will be brought down nearer to the confines of reason and moderation, than they have been used to. This

is all the evil which they themselves will endure. It will do them good in this world and in any other. For pride was not made for man, only as a tormentor.

I shall ever be happy in receiving your advice by letter, until I can be more completely so in seeing you here in person, which I hope will be soon.

Yours, etc.,

JOHN ADAMS

To Patrick Henry, Esq."

Patrick Henry to Richard Henry Lee

" WILLIAMSBURG, May 20, 1776

Dear sir:

Your two last favors are with me; and for them both, I give you many thanks. Ere this reaches you, our resolution for separating from Britain will be handed you by Colonel Nelson. Your sentiments as to the necessary progress of this great affair correspond with mine. For may not France, ignorant of the great advantages to her commerce we intend to offer, and of the permanency of that separation which is to take place, be allured by the partition you mention? To anticipate therefore the efforts of the enemy by sending instantly American ambassadors to France seems to me absolutely necessary. Delay may bring on us total ruin. But is not a confederacy of our states previously necessary? If that could be formed, and its object for the present be only offensive and defensive, and guaranty respecting colonial rights, perhaps dispatch might be had, and the adjustment of representation and other lesser matters, be postponed without injury. May not the fishery be a tempting object? I think from the great French force now in the West Indies some person of eminent rank must be there to guide it. The Mississippi should be tho't of. I thank you for the hint of the back lands. I gave an opinion, as a lawyer, to Brent, on the subject of his and Croghan's purchase, and notwithstanding solicitations from every great land company to the West, I've refused to join them. I think a general confiscation of royal and British property should be made; the fruits would be great, and the measure in its utmost latitude warranted by the late act of parliament.

The grand work of now forming a constitution for Virginia is now before the convention, where your love of equal liberty and your skill in public counsels might so eminently serve the cause of your country. Perhaps I am mistaken, but I fear too great a bias to aristocracy prevails among the opulent. I own myself a democrat on the plan of our admired friend John Adams, whose pamphlet I read with great pleasure.

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A performance from Philadelphia is just come here, ushered in, I'm told, by a colleague of yours, B—, and greatly recommended by him. I don't like it. Is the author a whig? One or two expressions in the book make me ask. I wish to divide you, and have you here, to animate by your manly eloquence the sometimes drooping spirits of our country, and in congress, to be the ornament of your native country and the vigilant, determined foe of tyranny.

To give you colleagues of kindred sentiments is my wish. I doubt you have them not at present. A confidential account of the matter to Colonel Tom, desiring him to use it according to his discretion, might greatly serve the public, and vindicate Virginia from suspicions. Vigor, animation, and all the powers of mind and body must now be summoned and collected together into one grand effort. Moderation, falsely so called, hath nearly brought on us final ruin. And to see those who have so fatally advised us, still guiding or at least sharing our public counsels, alarms me.

Adieu, my dear sir; present me to my much esteemed F. L. L. and believe me

Your very affec. and obliged,

P. HENRY, Jr.

Pray drop me a line now and then.

To Col. R. H. Lee.

P. S.—Our mutual friend the general will be hampered if—not taken. Some gentry throw out alarms that a cong—power has swallowed up everything. My all to—I know how to feel for him."

*Life, Correspondence, and Speeches of Patrick Henry,
by Hon. William Wirt Henry.*

MINOR TOPICS

COLLIS P. HUNTINGTON

"Huntington is an old name which is said to have reached England with the Normans in the eleventh century," writes Mr. Hubert Howe Bancroft in his new volume of *Chronicles of the Builders* (Vol. V.), "and among the noted men of this stock in America was Samuel Huntington, one of the signers of the declaration of independence, president of the continental congress, and chief-justice of Connecticut. Ebenezer Huntington was a lieutenant-colonel in the revolutionary war, and in 1799, when the French war threatened, was, on the recommendation of Washington, appointed brigadier-general. To the same stock belongs the Right Reverend Frederick D. Huntington, bishop of New York, also Daniel Huntington, the distinguished painter, president of the national Academy of Design. The Huntington family first emigrated to America early in the seventeenth century. William Huntington, the father of Collis P. Huntington, was of large frame, standing six feet two inches in his stockings. A man of severe character, his puritanism expressed itself in an austere virtue based upon radical convictions of right and wrong. He was a marked personage of singular and powerful individuality. Among the sage maxims through which he expressed his knowledge of men and business was this: 'Do not be afraid to do business with a rascal—only watch him; but avoid a fool, for you can never make anything out of him.'

Collis P. Huntington, born October 22, 1821, was the fifth of nine children, and industry was the motto of the household. That of his native town was a hard-working community. Labor was the criterion of respectability. Children who were too young to bring in wood brought in chips. This story is told of Collis: When he had attained his ninth year, being employed by a neighbor to pile up in a woodshed a quantity of wood, he did it neatly, and then with that liking for good work which has since distinguished his railroad constructions, he picked up all the chips in the woodyard and put them into barrels. His employer was so well pleased that when he gave him his dollar—the first the boy had ever earned—he patted him on the head and said, 'You have done this so well I shall be glad to have you pile up my wood again next fall.' He who told the story as being within his own remembrance added, 'and Collis was much delighted with the praise and with the dollar, but he said to me with a bright laugh, "You don't suppose I am going to pile wood for a living the rest of my life, do you?"'

When he was fourteen years of age his school life ended, and his father consented that he should be his own master on condition that he should thenceforth support himself. That year Collis worked for a neighbor for seven dollars a month

and board. He saved all he earned—eighty-four dollars. When a friend remarked to him, ‘Why, that is all the money you received for the whole year’s work!’ ‘Exactly,’ he replied, ‘that’s the reason I did not save any more.’” Mr. Bancroft traces Mr. Huntington’s history from the time of his departure from Connecticut until he reached California : a history which furnishes many practical and valuable lessons for young men. In whatever undertaking, he vigorously worked with a will. In his wanderings from place to place he studied the country, becoming familiar with its outlines, capes, headlands, rivers, and other physical features ; and with a retentive memory mastered the geographical relations of trade between the different parts of the nation. This knowledge became of immense use to him when he had reached the Pacific coast and turned his attention to the importance of transportation facilities as a factor in business undertakings. When the question of building a railroad across the continent was first agitated, there were many men, even in the congress of 1842-43, who opposed the project and ridiculed the idea that steam could ever be employed to facilitate communication across the continent, and it was ten years later before congress made the necessary appropriation for surveys, and twenty years before the Central Pacific Railroad Company entered into a contract with the government to construct a railroad and telegraph line from the Pacific coast, at or near San Francisco or the navigable waters of the Sacramento river, to the eastern boundary of California, having the right to build eastward until it met the Union Pacific—the Union Pacific having the right to build westward until it met the Central Pacific.

It was difficult to convince the public of that period that the government had an empire of vast magnitude lying west, between the waters of the Missouri and the Pacific ocean, and that there was an immense field of waste land which would never be worth a cent without a railroad. A senator from Missouri in 1878 said, “I look upon the building of the railroad from the waters of the Missouri to the Pacific ocean, at the time particularly in which it was built, during the war, as perhaps the greatest achievement of the human race.”

Mr. Bancroft chronicles the series of efforts and obstructions which characterized the scheme in its progress, and places them upon permanent record. He says: “The names of Huntington, Hopkins, Crocker, Miller, and Stanford form an integral part of the history of the great advance in civilization and enlightenment which has produced the California of to-day. As the financial agent, by whose finesse, address, and skill the funds necessary for the prosecution of the work must be obtained, and as purchasing agent, who must procure and ship everything used in the construction and equipment of the road, Mr. Huntington confronted difficulties compared with which the mere mechanical feat of removing earth, constructing bridges, and drilling tunnels sinks into insignificance. The masterly manner in which the problems committed to him were solved entitles him to the foremost rank among those by whom has been accomplished the greatest financial and engineering feat in an age which surpasses all others in such achievements.”

THE HISTORICAL PETITION AND ITS FATE.

A passage in Mrs. Davis' recently published book recalls to me a little war incident, which came under my knowledge and which has never been in print.

The tidings of the capture of Jefferson Davis struck the south with consternation. Every one felt that, though there might be still some show of resistance, the defeat at Appomattox practically closed the war. But that the president of the confederacy should be a prisoner in the hands of the victors was a doubly bitter pill. Then came stories of the inhumanity with which he was treated at Fortress Monroe, stories which were utterly unfounded, but nevertheless were implicitly believed through the south. So the Maryland women, as closest to the scene of action, drafted a petition to the President at Washington, for the release of Mr. Davis, which was signed by fifteen thousand of them. A deputation from Baltimore with Mrs. Chapman Coleman, a well-known society leader, at their head, was appointed to present the petition. Mrs. Coleman was not a native Marylander, but a Kentuckian, and it was objected to by some that she should represent the women of Maryland; but she was the daughter of the distinguished senator, John J. Crittenden, and it was thought the effect of his influence might be of service in favoring the cause.

When the delegation reached Washington, they accidentally met General T. L. Crittenden, one of the corps commanders in the federal army. His quarters were at the National Hotel, and as accommodations were very difficult to obtain in those crowded days, he offered them the freedom of his rooms. But on hearing their errand, he told them that it was quite useless to hope for an audience, for he had been waiting there two weeks, and had never been able to see the President.

However, after rest and refreshment, they did go on their mission to the White House, and sending in their cards were admitted in a very short time, although the ante-chamber was full of applicants, some of whom had been waiting there since daybreak. Courteously, Mr. Johnson received them, listened to the address Mrs. Coleman had prepared, and read the petition; then he replied: "I have not the least ill will towards Mr. Davis, ladies, I assure you, and personally I should not mind his being released, but believe me it would be no act of kindness to him. There are those who would pursue him to the bitter end, and his life would be in danger on every side. The government has no animosity to your president, but, take my word for it, he is safer where he is, for the present at least."

Convinced, in spite of themselves, that what he said was true, and satisfied at least with the courtesy they had received, they took their leave. Returning to the hotel, they found General Crittenden waiting for them and curious to know if they had succeeded in obtaining an audience. When he heard the result of their mission, his amazement was beyond bounds. "Well," he said, "this is too much; here I have been for two weeks trying to see the President. I want an order of admission to see Mr. Davis myself, we were old comrades in Mexico, and I have never even

been able to get a chance to ask for it, and here you go and get admitted at once. I verily believe the government will be turned over to the women yet."

LEIGH YOUNG

DANVILLE, KY.

CANADA, FROM A EUROPEAN POINT OF VIEW IN 1761

EXTRACT FROM THE "UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE," OF FEBRUARY, 1761

Canada, a colony in North America, belonged to the French before the present war. It is reported, in order to account for the etymology of the word 'Canada,' that the Spaniards had, long before the French, visited this coast; but, finding no signs of any minerals, they were in a hurry to go off again, crying out in their language, 'Aca Nada !' that is, 'There is nothing here ;' meaning the country was good for nothing ; which words the Indians retained, and, when the French came ashore, cried out, 'Aca Nada ! Aca Nada !' which they took for the name of the country ; so that it has been called Canada ever since.

Geographers are not agreed in fixing the limits of this large country. It will be sufficient to say, that, as its extent is very considerable, both in length and breadth, its temperature, climate, soil, &c., cannot but vary accordingly : All that part which was inhabited by the French, and which is mostly along the banks of the great river St. Laurence, is, generally speaking, excessive cold in winter, though hot in summer, as most of those American tracts commonly are, which do not lie too far to the northward. The rest of the country, as far as it is known, is intersected with large woods, lakes, and rivers, which render it still colder. It has, however, no inconsiderable quantity of good fertile lands, which by experience are found capable of producing wheat, barley, rye, and other grain, grapes, and fruit; and, indeed, almost every thing that grows in France ; but its chief product is tobacco, which it yields in large quantities.

There is likewise plenty of stags, elks, bears, foxes, martins, wild cats, and other wild creatures in the woods, besides wild fowl and other game. The southern parts, in particular, breed great numbers of wild bulls, deer of a small size, divers sorts of roe-bucks, goats, wolves, &c.

The meadow-grounds, which are all well watered, yield excellent grass, and breed great quantities of large and small cattle ; and, where the arable land is well manured, it produces large and rich crops. The mountains abound with coal mines, and some, we are told, of silver and other metals, though we have not learned that any great advantage has been made of them. The marshy grounds, which are likewise very extensive, swarm with otters, beavers, &c.

The lakes are both large and numerous ; the principal of which are those of Erie, Michigan, Huron, Superior, Frontenac or Ontario, Temiscaming, besides others of a smaller size ; but the largest of them is that which they name Superior,

or Upper Lake ; which is situated the farthest north, and is reckoned above one hundred leagues in length, and about seventy where broadest, and hath several considerable islands on it ; the chief whereof are the Royal Isle, Pont Chartrain, Maurepas, St. Ann, St. Ignatius, Hocquart, Minong, and a number of smaller ones.

The whole country abounds with very large rivers, which it is endless to enter into a detail of ; the two principal are those of St. Laurence and the Mississippi ; the former of which abounds with no less variety than plenty of fine fish, and receives several considerable rivers in its course. The entrance into the bay of St. Laurence lies between the cape de Retz, on the isle of Newfoundland, and the north cape in that called the Royal Island, or more commonly Cape Breton. That of the Mississippi, which runs through the greatest part of the province of Louisiana, from north to south, is called by the French the river of St. Louis, and by the natives Mischisipi, Mississipi, and Meschagamisii, on account of the vast tract of ground which it overflows at certain seasons ; and by the Spaniards also called la Palissada, from the prodigious quantities of timber which they send down upon it in floats to the sea. It is navigable above four hundred and fifty leagues up from its mouth. The spring head of this river is not yet satisfactorily known ; but it is certain that it discharges itself into the gulph of Mexico by two branches, which form an island of considerable length.

Canada, in its largest sense, is divided into eastern and western, the former of which is commonly known by the name of Canada, or New France, and the latter, which is of much later discovery, Louisiana, in honour of the late Louis XIV. The eastern Canada contains the following provinces, viz. Canada, properly so called ; 2. Sanguenay ; 3. Acadia ; 4. Atrurumbeg ; 5. New England ; 6. New Holland ; 7. New Sweden ; the five last of which have been dismembered from it some time since ; so that there are but two provinces in this eastern Canada that belonged to the French before the present war, viz. Canada proper and Sanguenay.

The former of these, including all to the north and west of the great river and lakes, contained formerly twenty-eight tribes, but at present is divided into the thirteen following provinces, most of them named from their capital towns or forts, viz. 1. Gaspe ; 2. St. Jean isle ; 3. Miscon isle ; 4. Richelieu ; 5. Les Trois Rivières, or the Three Rivers ; 6. Montreal isle ; 7. Fort Frontenac ; 8. De Conti ; 9. St. François ; 10. Notre Dame Des Anges ; 11. St. Alexis ; 12. St. Michael ; 13. St. Joseph.

Canada proper is by far the most considerable province of all New France, the farther subdued, the best peopled, and the best cultivated. It has on the north the Terra de Labrador, Hudson's bay, and New Wales ; on the east the great river Sanguenay divides it from the province of that name ; on the south the great province of Louisiana, and the Iroquois and Etechemins ; as to the northern boundaries, they are not known, and must be left to time to discover. This province is allowed to have greater plenty of beavers, and larger and finer than any other that are bred throughout Canada. These, as well as the castors, are very much valued,

not only for their furs, but the latter for its testicles, which have been from long experience found to be an efficacious remedy against several diseases, especially those of the hysterick kind ; and accordingly the natives carry on a large commerce of both. The rivers of Canada abound with variety of fish, especially carp of a prodigious size, and white porpoises as large as oxen, besides great numbers of crocodiles, and other amphibious creatures.

This colony, before the present war, was said by some to be inhabited by eighty thousand French, who lived in plenty and tranquillity : They were free from all taxes, and had full liberty to hunt, fish, fell timber for fuel or building, and to sow and plant as much land as they could cultivate. Their greatest hardship was the winter cold, which is there so excessive, from December till April, that the greatest rivers freeze over, and the snow lies commonly two or three feet deep on the ground, though this part lies no farther north than forty to forty-eight degrees of latitude.

Trois Rivières, or the Three Rivers, so called from the three rivers which join their currents about a quarter of a mile below it, and fall into the great one of St. Laurence, was the capital of the French government in New France, and much resorted to by several nations, which come down these rivers to it, and trade with it in various kinds of furs. The town here is surrounded with pallisades, and advantageously situated in the center of the country, and consequently free from the incursions of the savage Iroquois. It was the residence of the Governor, who kept a Major under him, and it has a monastery of Recollects, who act as Curates. It was formerly the common emporium, where the wild natives brought their furs, and other commodities, for sale, before the English seized it, and their settlement at Montreal. The colony was again restored in 1635, and the Monks who had settled a mission there returned to it in 1673. The country about it is pleasant, and fertile in corn, fruits, &c., and has a good number of lordships and handsome seats. On each side of the river stands a vast number of genteel houses, scarce above a gun-shot from each other, and the river is full of pleasure and fishing boats, which serve for catching vast quantities of fish.

Montreal is situated on an island of the same name, in the river of St. Laurence, about fourteen leagues long, and four wide where broadest, and is very fertile in corn, fruits, &c. This town carried on a prodigious trade with the natives, whose Chiefs went first to pay their duty to the Governor, and make him some presents, in order to prevent the prices of goods, which they came for, being raised to an exorbitant height. This concourse began about June, and some of them came hither from places distant above five hundred leagues ; the fair was kept along the banks of the river, where these natives exchanged their commodities with the French ; and centinels were placed at proper distances, to prevent the disorders, which might otherwise happen from such vast crowds of different nations. This concourse lasted for near three months. The natives brought thither all sorts of furs, which they bartered for guns, powder, ball, great-coats, and other garments

of the French manufacture ; iron and brass work, and trinkets of all sorts.—See a more ample description of Montreal, and the trade carried on there, as referred to in the title.

Sanguenay, a province in the eastern Canada, is divided on the west, from that properly so called, by the river of its name. It has on the north-east the nation called Kilestinaos, or Crestinaux ; on the north-west that of the Esquimaux ; on the south-east it is bounded by the river St. Laurence, and on the south-west by that of Sanguenay, at the mouth of which is the town of Three Rivers, before mentioned. Its extent is computed from this town, which is the frontier of Canada proper, quite to the farther end of the bay called the Seven Isles. The territory and lands on each side of the river were found so indifferent, that the colony which settled at Tadoussac suffered so much there, that it quite discouraged the French, for a long time, from settling ; but at length, upon their sailing up as high as Quebec, they found such encouragement as was sufficiently productive of their prosperity there. The river of Sanguenay springs from the lake of St. John, and falls into that of St. Laurence, at the town of Tadoussac. The haven is capable of containing 25 men of war, and has a good anchorage and shelter from storms, it being of a round figure and deep, and surrounded at a distance with very high rocks. This province is much the same, as to its soil, climate, and inhabitants, with that of Canada proper. It is remarkable, indeed, for an extraordinary plenty of marble of several kinds, insomuch that not only the principal towns, forts, churches, and palaces, but even the houses of private men, are built of it.

Quebec is the capital of this province ; and the other principal places are, Sillery, Tadoussac, Port neuf, Beau-port, St. Ann, Chicheque de Port, St. Nicholas, Port Castier, and Necouba. Quebec, the metropolis of all Canada, and an episcopal see, is in the latitude of 46° 53', and west longitude 70° 40' : It is situated on the confluence of the rivers St. Laurence and St. Charles, or the little river, and on the north side of the former, and about one hundred and forty leagues from the sea. The haven is large, and capable of containing at least 100 ships of the line ; and the great river whereon it stands, though about four leagues wide, here contracts itself at once to the breadth of about a mile ; and it is on that account that the name of Quebec was given, which, in the Algonkine Indian language, it seems, signifies a shrinking, or growing narrower, which is a natural etymology enough of the name.

The Esquimaux, or Eskimaux, are one of the fiercest and hitherto unpolished people in all North America. They are seated on the most eastern verge of it, beyond the river of St. Laurence, and spread themselves up north and east, into the large tract of land called Terra de Labrador, opposite Newfoundland, from 51° to 53° degrees of north latitude, and from 52° to 63°, or more, of west longitude. Their chief trade is in furs of divers sorts, for other European goods. The Beisiamites are seated on the west of the Esquimaux, and are divided from them by the river of St. Margaret, and run along the north coast of the river St. Laurence,

over against Canada : They are a people much resembling the Esquimaux, and carried on a traffic with the French of the same kind.

The Iroquois are the most considerable, and best known of all the Indian nations in these parts ; they are seated along the north side of the lake Ontario, Frontenac, and along the river of their name, which is that which carries the waters of the lake into the river of St. Laurence. They are bounded on the north by the nations called Algonkins and Outavais, and the settlements at and about Montreal ; on the east and south-east by New England, New York, Jersey, &c., on the south by part of Canada proper and the lake Erie ; and on the west by that of the Hurons and the canal between these two lakes. They are so advantageously situated between the English and French, that they could join forces with the highest bidder, or with those who kept them in the greatest subjection. Their soil is high and rich ; their water-melons, pompons, &c., very large, sweet, and of a fine colour and flavour ; but they are too proud and lazy to give themselves much trouble about cultivating their lands, which is, perhaps, the cause of their producing so little. Their manner of traffic is no way unlike that before described.

Louisiana contains a vast tract of land, and, according to the most modest of the French geographers, is bounded on the south by the gulph of Mexico ; on the north by the Illinois, last described, and by the territories of the Parniassus, Paoducas, Osages, Tiontetecagas, Chavanons, and other Indian nations ; on the east by part of Florida, Georgia, and Carolina ; and on the west, by New Mexico and New Spain.

It extends itself from north to south about 15 degrees, that is, from the 25th to the 40th of north latitude ; and from east to west about 10 or 11, that is, from 86 to 96 or 97, according to Charlevoix. Monsieur de Lisle gives these boundaries a much larger extent, especially on the north side, where it is made contiguous to Canada, last described ; so that part of it is bounded, according to him, by New York, Pennsylvania, Virginia, &c., and on the west by the rivers called Rio Bravo and Salado. According to Le Sieur, another French writer, the northern boundaries of Louisiana may reach as far as the northern pole. Neither are those on the north-west less uncertain, the Missouri, a great river, which gives name to a vast tract of land unknown, flowing from that point into the Mississippi, about four leagues above its mouth ; so that, if we except the south, where the sea bounds it, all the rest must be left an uncertainty ; and so indeed it is likely to remain, till proper persons are appointed to settle those boundaries, on the east with the English, and on the west with the Spaniards. Till then they will ever be liable to disputes, and perhaps to a continual fluctuation, according as either of the three nations shall have opportunity to enlarge their own conquests, or incroach upon their neighbours.

The most considerable nations in Louisiana are the Chicaches, Chikai, or Chicas, Maubilians, Clamcoats, Cenos, Cadedaguios, Ibitoupas, Tabactas, Vaccay, and many others.

Their various rivers, frequently overflowing, render the country in general extremely fertile and pleasant. Nothing is more delightful than their meadows, which are fit for seed of all kinds. In some parts, the soil yields three or four crops in a year, for the winter consists only in heavy rains, without any nipping frosts. Almost all sorts of trees that Europe affords are to be found here, besides variety of others unknown to us; and some of them very estimable, such as their tall and admirable cedars, a tree that distils gum, which is said to excel all our European noblest perfumes; and cotton-trees, which are of a prodigious height. The whole country abounds with an infinite variety of game, fowl, cattle, and, indeed, every thing that life can desire.

But the chief glory of Louisiana is the famous Mississipi, already mentioned, in many respects the finest river in the world; it is free from shoals and cataracts, and navigable within sixty leagues of its source: The channel is every-where deep, and the current gentle, except at a certain season, when, like the Nile, it floods. Its banks are adorned with a delightful variety of meadows and groves, and inhabited by almost 200 different nations, whom the French found tractable to their measures. Our American seamen assert, that their rivers are fit to receive ships of the largest burthens, and they have safe and commodious harbours.

What renders the Mississipi more considerable, is a great number of other large and navigable rivers, that run from eastward and westward, and mix at last with its stream. Of the first, Mons. Desale, in the relation he presented to Count Frontenac of his voyage on this river, affirms there are six or seven, three hundred leagues each in length, that fall below the Illinois.

The French, before the present war broke out, imported from Canada, in beaver, 75,000 l., in deer-skins, 20,000 l., in furs, 40,000 l., total 135,000 l. The English import from North America, in the same articles, to the amount of 90,000 l. The great advantages, gained by the French from such a surprising increase in trade, are conspicuous from the immense sums they drew annually from other countries, in return for their American products, as well as for their cambrics, tea, brandy, wine, and other home manufactures. It is from hence that they chiefly maintained such powerful armies, and afforded such plentiful subsidies and pensions to several Powers in Europe, when subservient to their views and interests; and it is from hence that they built their ships of war, and nourished and maintained seamen to supply them. It is computed, that they drew from two to three millions of pounds sterling per annum from foreign countries, in return for sugars, indigo, coffee, ginger, beaver manufactured into hats, salt fish and other American products; and near one million more from Great Britain and Ireland only, in wool and cash, in return for cambrics, tea, brandy, and wine; and thereby fought us in trade, as well as in war, with our own weapons. Whether this great increase of the French commerce was owing to the extent and fertility of their territories, or to their prudent regulations and encouragements thereof, both at home and abroad, or to the experience and vigilance of the Council of Commerce, we will not determine.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF DR. BENJAMIN RUSH, WRITTEN IN 1793

FROM THE COLLECTION OF COLONEL CHARLES C. JONES, JR., LL.D.

[*Editor Magazine of American History*: So far as I know the following letter has never found its way into type. It is of interest, as showing the conduct of the negroes in Philadelphia during the yellow fever epidemic of 1793.]

CHARLES C. JONES, JR.]

"Dear Sir,

Accept of my thanks for your friendly note and the interesting paper inclosed in it.

The facts which I have preserved during our late calamity relate only to the origin, history, and cure of the disease.

The only information which I am capable of giving you relates to the conduct of the Africans of our City. In procuring nurses for the sick, W^m Grey and Absalom Jones were indefatigable, often sacrificing for that purpose whole nights of sleep without the least compensation. Richard Allen was extremely useful in performing the mournful duties which were connected with burying the dead. Many of the black nurses, it is true, were ignorant, and some of them were negligent, but many of them did their duty to the sick with a degree of patience and tenderness that did them great credit.

During the indisposition and confinement of the greatest part of the Physicians of the City, Richard Allen and Abraham Jones procured copies of the printed directions for curing the fever—went among the poor who were sick—gave them the mercurial purges—bled them freely, and by these means, they this day informed me, they had recovered between two and three hundred people.

I was the more pleased with the above communication as it shewed the safety and simplicity of the mode of treating the disease which you have politely said was generally successful.

From, Dear Sir,

Yours sincerely,

BENJ^N RUSH

October 29th, 1793.

P. S. The merit of the Blacks in their attendance upon the sick is enhanced by their not being exempted from the disorder. Many of them had it; but, in general, it was much milder and yielded more easily to art than in the white people."

NOTES

CHARACTERISTIC REPLIES OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN—"This finishes the *job*," he said, when Illinois had voted, making the number of states requisite to ratify the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery. Cuthbert Bullitt and other citizens of Louisiana had written to him, protesting against the severity with which the war was waged. "Would you prosecute the war with elder-stalk squirts charged with rose-water, if you were in my position?" he demanded, and there was no reply. In his message to the extra session of Congress of July 4, 1861, he wrote of southern political leaders that, "with rebellion thus sugar-coated, they have been drugging the public mind of their section for more than thirty years." Mr. Defrees, the public printer, advised the omission of the compound word on the ground that it was not dignified. "Let it stand," said the President; "I was not attempting to be dignified, but plain. There is not a voter in the Union who will not know what sugar-coated means."—Chittenden's *Recollections of President Lincoln*.

THE ENGLISHMAN AND THE INDIAN—Taking a general view of the growth of the American nation, it is now easy to see that it was fortunate that Englishmen met in the Indian so formidable an antagonist; such fierce and untamed savages could never be held long as slaves; and thus were the American colonists of the North, the bone and sinew of the nation, saved from the temptations and the moral danger which come from contact with a numerous ser-

vile race. Again, every step of progress in the wilderness being stubbornly contested, the spirit of hardihood and bravery, so essential an element in nation building, was fostered among the borderers; and as settlement moved westward slowly, only so fast as the pressure of population on the seaboard impelled it, the Americans were prevented from planting scattered colonies in the interior, and thus were able to present a solid front to the mother country when, in due course of time, fostering care changed to a spirit of commercial control, and commercial control to jealous interference and menace. In intellectual activity the red man did not occupy so low a scale as has often been assigned to him. He was barbarous in his habits, but was so from choice; it suited his wild, untrammeled nature. He understood the arts of politeness when he chose to exercise them. He could plan; he was an incomparable tactician and a fair strategist; he was a natural logician; his tools and implements were admirably adapted to the purpose designed; he fashioned boats that have not been surpassed in their kind; he was remarkably quick in learning the use of firearms, and soon equalled the best white hunters as a marksman. A rude sense of honor was highly developed in the Indian; he had a nice perception of public propriety; he bowed his will to the force of custom; these characteristics doing much to counteract the anarchical tendency of his extreme democracy."—*Epochs of American History*, by Reuben Gold Thwaites.

TRAVELING ON THE OHIO RIVER IN 1816—Timothy Flint's experiences in moving into the wild West with his wife and five children are graphically described by Dr. Venable in his sketches of the Ohio valley. He embarked early in November at Pittsburgh, on a small flatboat owned by a Yankee trader, which was laden with "factory cottons and cutlery." Instead of floating gently along, as its owner and its passengers had expected, the frail boat was whirled and tossed about in a manner altogether alarming to all on board. Now the helpless craft was carried swiftly through a chute ; now it stuck on a bar ; and now

it was dashed upon the rocks of "Dead Man's Rifle" and almost capsized, while the children shrieked, and the merchandise of cotton stuffs and hardware fell upon and buried poor Mrs. Flint. The scared Yankee trader and his reverend first mate forgot, in their confusion, to resort to their oars, but tried to save themselves by consulting the *Navigator*, a guidebook descriptive of the Ohio and the Mississippi. The reader will not wonder that, when they reached the village of Beaver, the family forsook the risky flatboat and bought a pirogue, or large skiff, in which they continued their voyage.

QUERIES

CHURCHILL'S POEMS—An edition of *Poems by Charles Churchill*, printed in 1768, was recently sold in Boston ; the volumes have no place of publication on the titlepage, but from the long list of American subscribers attached to the second volume it is supposed that they were printed in some of the colonies.

Can any of your readers give the place of imprint and the name of the printer ? I do not find the work in *Sabin's Dictionary* or in lists of Churchill's works printed in England.

BOSTON COLLECTOR

NEWS—Will some one kindly give the

origin of the word *News* in the name *Newport News*?

E. W. WRIGHT
VICKSBURG, MISS.

CHURCH OF ENGLAND CEREMONIES—When did the Puritans, a part of whom became pilgrims in the *Mayflower*, cease to use the forms of worship and ceremonies of the Church of England ?

CHAUTAUQUAN CIRCLE

GOTHAM—*Editor Magazine of American History* : Can you tell me when and how the name of "Gotham" became connected with New York, and what its meaning and origin ?

WHIG

REPLIES

THE HARLEIAN COLLECTION [xxvi, 476] now in the British Museum takes its name from Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford, so well known to fame

from being the friend and associate of Swift, Pope, and Prior. He had a passion for collecting books, manuscripts, pictures, coins, etc., which were sold by

his widow after his death. In order that the manuscripts should not be dispersed, Lady Oxford sold them to the nation in 1753 (the second George was then on the throne), for the insignificant sum of £10,000. They now form the Harleian Collection, and consist of 7,639 volumes, besides 14,236 original rolls, charters, deeds, and other legal documents. A new index to the collection is at present in course of preparation.

DAVID FITZGERALD
WASHINGTON, D. C.

HARLEIAN COLLECTION [xxvi, 476]—“Investigator” will find some account of this wonderful mass of historical material in Edward Edwards’s “*Lives of the Founders of the British Museum*,” London and New York, 1870. Robert Harley, son of Sir Edward Harley, was born in London, in 1661. He sat in the first parliament of William and Mary, for Tregony, and continued in parliament for many years, being chosen speaker in 1701. In 1704 he was sworn of the privy council, and a few weeks later became one of the principal secretaries of state, but was crowded out four years afterward. In 1710 he was recalled and was made chancellor of the exchequer, and on May 24, 1711, he was by the queen raised to the peerage as Earl of Oxford and Earl Mortimer. In 1714 he was again forced out of the ministry, and soon afterward was impeached by his political rivals, who caused him to be imprisoned for two years. He was unanimously acquitted by the lords in 1717, and resumed his seat as a peer. He died May 21, 1724. Daniel Defoe and Dean Swift were

among his warmest friends. He began the collection of his library in his early youth, and in his public and private sorrows found much consolation in his literary treasures. He secured the manuscripts of Sir Thomas Smith, John Fox the martyrologist, John Stowe the historian, Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury; Archbishop Sancroft and many distinguished foreigners, particularly the great mass of manuscripts gathered by Sir Symonds D’Ewes, which included a rich series of materials bearing on the history of Elizabeth and Cromwell; also the manuscripts of John Warburton (Somerset Herald); Archdeacon Battely; Pierre Séguier (Chancellor of France); Thomas Gray, second Earl of Stamford; Robert Paynell of Relaugh in Norfolk; John Robartes, first Earl of Radnor, and many others. When Lord Oxford died, his library contained more than 6,000 volumes of manuscripts and 14,500 charters and rolls. The second earl added to it largely, so that at his death, in 1741, there were 8,000 volumes of manuscripts, 50,000 printed volumes, and 400,000 pamphlets. The second earl’s daughter (the Duchess of Portland) sold the printed library, but accepted an offer in 1753 from parliament of £10,000 for the manuscripts, stipulating that they should be kept together and called by the name of “The Harleian Collection of Manuscripts.” A catalogue of the collection was printed in 1759–63, in two volumes, folio, with an introduction by Dr. Johnson; another catalogue was printed in 1808–12, in four volumes, folio, with indexes of persons, places, and matters. “The Harleian Miscellanys: a collection of

scarce, curious and entertaining pamphlets and tracts, as well in manuscript as in print, selected from the library of Edward Harley, second Earl of Oxford," was printed in London in 1808-13, in ten royal quarto volumes; in 1744, in six quarto volumes; in 1753, in eight quarto volumes; in 1808-11, in twelve octavo volumes. Lowndes says: "This valuable political, historical, and antiquarian record, an indispensable auxiliary in the illustration of British history, contains between 600 and 700 rare and curious tracts." The edition in twelve volumes has the tracts arranged in chronological order, an obvious advantage. The tracts are not all adapted for family reading.

WM. NELSON

PATERSON, N. J.

DELAWARE, OR DELAWARE, THOMAS WEST [xxvi, 74, 317], lord, governor of Virginia, died in 1618. He succeeded his father as third Baron Delawarr in 1602, was appointed governor and captain-general of Virginia in 1609, and arrived at Jamestown, June 9, 1610, with three ships, after a voyage of three months and a half. He was the first executive officer of Virginia who bore the title of governor.—*American Cyclopaedia*.

Thomas West was gathered to his fathers a hundred years and more before John West, Lord De-La-Warr, was appointed governor of New York. And no writer of Virginia history, so far as I know, has ever said that John West was

at any time governor of the Old Dominion.

It seems to me that, if persons outside the state would only keep in mind the difference in the names of Thomas and John, and the difference in time between the years 1609-10 and 1737, they need not find the Virginia data so inexplicable.

W. A. W.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

THE ST. CROIX OF THE NORTHEASTERN BOUNDARY [xxvi, 261]—After the article under the above title in the October number of this magazine had been for some time in type, I had an opportunity to study again, among the Passamaquodries, their name for Grand Lake. Then I found that they always put an extra syllable in the word which my ear had not caught before, and that they more frequently pronounce the first syllable like *Ke-ok* rather than *Ka-ouk*. Thus they say not *Ka-ouk-sak*, as it is in the article above-mentioned, but rather *Ke-ok-qu'-sak*, and the syllable *gu'* is always present, though not strongly sounded. This brings the word even closer to the *Ka-ouak-ou-sak-i* of the French maps and the *Kou-sak-i* of Mitchell. Further than this, to my great surprise, one squaw pronounced again and again, independently of the other Indians, the name of a lake at the head of the east branch of the St. Croix, which she thought was Grand Lake, as *Kwee-ok-qu'-sak-ik* (with the last syllable perfectly distinct), a form even nearer that of the old maps.

W. F. GANONG

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY— The first meeting of the fall season was held on the evening of October 6, the president, Hon. John A. King, in the chair; the paper of the evening, entitled "The Colonial Clergy of New York city," was read by the Rev. Ashbel Green Vermilye, D.D., of Englewood, New Jersey.

The stated meeting for November was held on the 3d instant, when a resolution was adopted creating a "committee of fifteen" to raise funds for the erection of a building on the site recently purchased by the society on Eighth avenue (Central park west) between Seventy-sixth and Seventy-seventh streets. Mr. Greenville Temple Snelling read a paper, illustrated by stereopticon views, on "The Colonial Architecture of New York city."

On Tuesday evening, November 17, the society celebrated in its hall the eighty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the society. The exercises were opened with prayer by the Rt. Rev. Henry B. Potter, D.D., LL.D., bishop of New York. The anniversary address was delivered by the Hon. Seth Low, LL.D., president of Columbia college; his subject was "New York in 1850 and 1890. A Political Study." On its conclusion the Rev. Dr. Eugene A. Hoffman, dean of the General Theological seminary, moved a vote of thanks to the orator. The meeting concluded with a benediction pronounced by the Rev. David H. Greer, D.D., rector of St. Bartholomew's church.

The meeting for December was held on the 1st instant. The librarian announced

the gift from Edmund B. Southwick, Ph.D., of the portraits of Captain John Waddell and Anne Kirton, his wife, painted in New York prior to 1762. Mr. Eugene Lawrence read a paper on "Colonel Richard Nicolls, the first English governor of New York."

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting on Tuesday evening, November 17, 1891, at its hall in Dearborn avenue, Chicago, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. The secretary and librarian, Mr. John Moses, reported many valuable additions to the library by gift and purchase, including a package of manuscript letters containing the correspondence of General H. A. Dearborn. He also acknowledged the portrait in oil of Mrs. John Edgar, one of the early settlers of Kaskaskia, a companion piece to the portrait of her husband, General Edgar. A photographic group of the Union Defense committee of Chicago during the late civil war was presented by Mr. George Schneider. The library now contains 19,008 volumes, a catalogue of which has been completed. The executive committee also made an interesting report. The officers elected for the coming year were Edward G. Mason, president; Alexander C. McClurg and George W. Smith, vice-presidents; Gilbert B. Shaw, treasurer; and John Moses, secretary and librarian.

The paper of the evening, "Some Recollections of Chicago in the Forties," by Samuel C. Clarke of Marietta, Georgia, was read by the secretary. Henry B.

Mason, in moving a vote of thanks to Mr. Clarke for his excellent paper, remarked that the members had been entertained by the presentation of an enjoyable and vivid picture of Chicago in her early days, when a man without much exertion could get his breakfast fresh from the stream near by, and for his dinner could shoot a mess of ducks from his back yard ; in the afternoon he could casually buy a lot on Madison street, and go broke the next day on wild-cat or red-dog money. Those were the days of dust clouds in summer and of mud bogs in winter—the days of crude beginnings and good fellowship, out of which has grown the mighty Chicago of to-day.

THE WASHINGTON STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was organized at Tacoma, Washington, October 8, 1891, with twenty-four charter members, and the following officers : president, Elwood Evans of Tacoma ; vice-president, Edward Eldridge of Whatcom ; secretary, C. W. Hobart of Tacoma ; treasurer, T. J. McKinney of Olympia ; curators, C. M. Barton, Olympia ; James Wickersham, Tacoma ; C. B. Bagley, Seattle ; W. P. Gray, Pasco ; Henry Roeder, Whatcom ; Edward Higgins, Tacoma.

The object of the society is to gather, formulate, and preserve in substantial form the traditional and record history of the state, including accounts of early explorers and explorations ; of Indian tribes, their reservations, and progress toward civilization ; of early pioneers, their hardships, privations, dangers, and the work they did in opening the way for the development and civilization that

followed; together with material objects, relics, pictures, views, and paintings illustrative of early traditions, history, places, and persons ; the flora and fauna of the state ; also the history, records, and objects illustrative of the perils and heroism of those who served as soldiers in the Indian conflicts or other wars of the country ; all to the end that these things may be accomplished as far as possible during the lives of those then and now living, and preserved as the historical archives of the state.

The membership is increasing rapidly and the society has a bright future.

THE ROCHESTER HISTORICAL SOCIETY (New York) resumed its meetings on Friday, November 13, at the house of Gilman H. Perkins. Hon. E. M. Moore, M.D., read a most interesting paper, "The Parks of Rochester," giving a history of what will yet give Rochester the finest park in the country.

THE WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its thirty-ninth annual meeting on the 10th of December, in the senate chamber in the capitol. There was a full attendance of members, both resident and out-of-town. President John Johnston of Milwaukee occupied the chair, and by his side were vice-presidents General Simeon Mills and Dr. James D. Butler.

The president in his opening address made a touching allusion to the late Dr. Draper, saying, "He lived for this society and did not forget it in the hour of death, but set an example to wealthier men by his benefactions."

In his annual report, secretary Reu-

ben G. Thwaites said that the work of the society had been crowned by success during the fiscal year. Feeling references were made to the death of Dr. Draper, Benson J. Lossing and Luther S. Dixon.

After naming the various gifts and library accessions the proposed exhibit of the society at the World's Fair was outlined. It was shown that much can be done in this direction, but that a location in some central building, alongside of similar historical and archæological exhibits from other states, would be more advantageous both to the public and to the society than being housed in the state building, which would probably be visited by few persons not directly interested in Wisconsin affairs.

Secretary Thwaites then delivered a memorial address on the late Lyman Copeland Draper, LL.D., his distinguished predecessor in office. "Weighing his own words carefully," said the speaker, concerning the doctor, "and as becoming an historical student, abhorring exaggeration, it is not fitting that what we say to-night of his life and work would be mere eulogy. Were he here in spirit and could speak, his words would be, 'Tell the truth if you tell anything.' Firm in the belief that such would be his will, I shall with loving freedom talk to you of Dr. Draper as those found him who knew him best." The secretary then told of Dr. Draper's birth as a humble farmer's lad in Evans, New York, September 4, 1815. His long Puritan lineage was alluded to, and the careers of his ancestors as soldiers in the wars of the revolution and of 1812-15. He was for a time at Gran-

ville (Ohio) college, now Denison university. Then he went to Alabama, living with his cousin's husband, Peter A. Remsen, a cotton factor, who was interested in the lad and became his patron. In Alabama, when but eighteen years of age (1833), he interviewed the Creek chieftains, and had a notion of writing a book, but the work never progressed any farther than the notes. In 1838 he conceived the idea of writing a long series of biographies of trans-Alleghany pioneers, to be wholly based upon original investigation. This at once became his controlling thought, and he entered upon its execution with an enthusiasm which never lagged through a half century; but unfortunately he only collected and investigated, and the biographies were never written.

By the year 1852 Dr. Draper had acquired what was for those days a really remarkable private library of rare Americana; his collections of original manuscripts also numbered about 15,000 pages, while he had hundreds of bulky note books filled with his interviews and odds and ends of detailed information. His great mass of unique material "covered the entire history of the Northwest from 1742, the date of the first skirmish with the Indians in the Virginia valley, to 1813-14, when Tecumseh was killed and the Creeks were defeated." Many of his manuscripts, such as Clark's journal of his famous expedition to Kaskaskia and Vincennes in 1778, are of priceless value.

In 1854 Lossing went so far as to enter into a literary copartnership with Draper for the joint production of a series of border biographies—Boone,

Clark, Sevier, Robertson, Brady, Kenton, Martin, Crawford, Whitley, the Wetzels, Harman, St. Clair, Wayne, and others being selected. The titles of the several biographies were agreed upon at a meeting in Madison between Lossing and Draper, but while, as a collector, Draper was ever in the field, eager, enterprising, and shrewd, as a writer he was a procrastinator, and nothing was done at the time. In October, 1852, Draper came to Madison on the invitation of the State Historical society, which had been organized in 1849, but had not grown. In January, 1854, he became the corresponding secretary. The institution at once leaped forward. His administration opened with a library of fifty volumes in a little bookcase then kept in the secretary of state's office.

Dr. Draper's great services as state superintendent of public instruction (1855-59) were alluded to, and his services as the pioneer in the township library system pointed out. His few miscellaneous literary ventures actually published were described—his *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, a bulky storehouse of information obtained at first hand regarding the revolutionary war in the South, and a permanently valuable contribution to American historical literature; his pamphlet on Madison, issued during 1857; his essay on *Autograph Collections of the Signers*, in 1887; and his *Forman's Narrative*, a pamphlet edited in 1888. By 1854 he had written probably one-half of his projected *Life of Boone*. Of the other proposed border biographies he left only a few scattered skeleton chapters; a monograph on the Mechlenburg declaration of in-

dependence he had made considerable progress upon, and he had about half finished editing a proposed republication by a Cincinnati firm of a little book originally issued in 1831, styled *Withers' Border Forays*. The above constitutes his life work, except that which he devoted to the *Wisconsin Historical Society Collections*. These latter, in ten volumes, he made famous as a storehouse of materials for Wisconsin history doing very efficient editorial work in their production.

Dr. Draper was the most successful of all collectors of material for American border history, and it will ever be a source of great regret to historical students that he was prevented from giving to the world that important series of biographies for which he so eagerly planned over half a century ago. He has generously left to us his materials—so much bricks and stone, ready for some aspiring architect of the future; these will be of incalculable value to original workers in many branches of western history. But even had Dr. Draper never been a collector of border lore, never entertained ambitions in a broader field, his work for this society has of itself been sufficient to earn for him the lasting gratitude of the people of Wisconsin and of all American historical students. The Wisconsin Historical library, which he practically founded and so successfully managed and purveyed for through a third of a century, will remain an enduring monument to his tireless energy as a collector of Americana. We can say with one accord that the name of Lyman C. Draper shall ever be foremost in the annals of this society.

BOOK NOTICES

PATRICK HENRY, LIFE, CORRESPONDENCE AND SPEECHES. By WILLIAM WIRT HENRY. With portrait. Vol. I., 8vo, pp. 622. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

Nothing could be more welcome to historical scholars than this handsome work, of which the first volume, prepared with consummate care by the scholarly grandson of his distinguished subject, is now before us. The author has had free access to a vast amount of material not hitherto published, besides collecting the correspondence of Patrick Henry from different quarters, many well-known persons having furnished copies of original letters in their possession. The author has also had use of the executive journal kept during nearly all of Mr. Henry's service of five years as governor of Virginia, and has found either in print or in manuscript the journals of nearly every session of the deliberative bodies in which Patrick Henry served prior to the Revolution. From the state department at Washington he has been able to copy many unprinted Henry letters from the papers of Washington and of the continental congress. With all this new matter a flood of light has been turned upon the career of the great patriot.

The beautiful volume, which is printed in excellent taste, opens with a biographical sketch, John Henry, the son of Alexander Henry and Jean Robertson, of Aberdeen, Scotland, a young man of classical education, emigrated to Virginia in 1730. He was a friend of Robert Dinwiddie, who was governor of Virginia twenty years later. He married in Virginia, and his son, Patrick Henry, was born in 1736. An account is given of the boyhood and early life and training of young Henry, and of his beginnings in professional life. He first practised law in the autumn of 1760. His wonderful successes at the bar are very modestly chronicled. While he was winning a high position, the political troubles between England and her American colonies were assuming a serious aspect. It was at the critical period when the great mass of the people of the colonies were rising against the Stamp Act, in 1766, that Patrick Henry entered upon public life. He took his seat in the House of Burgesses on the 20th of May, and was at once placed on the committee of courts of justice. He entered a body of intellectual and patriotic men whose proceedings were conducted with the utmost decorum, and whose leaders were possessed of ability, of culture, and of deserved influence. John Rolinson, the speaker of the house, had filled the chair for twenty-five years with great dignity. Peyton Randolph, who as attorney-

general, held the rank next the speaker, was an eminent lawyer, an accomplished parliamentarian, and a practical statesman of a high order. Edmund Pendleton was one of whom Jefferson said, "Take him all in all, he was the ablest man in debate I ever met: he was cool, smooth and persuasive; his language flowing, chaste and embellished; his conceptions quick, acute and full of resource." George Wythe was there, the best Latin and Greek scholar in the colony; and George Washington. This portion of the volume is most interesting and informing. The following chapters lead to the great events with which Patrick Henry was intimately concerned. The twenty-first chapter treats of the measures of the British ministry during Mr. Henry's second term as governor of Virginia; and the twenty-second chapter describes the brilliant success of the expedition of George Rogers Clark, sent out by Governor Henry. The volume is interesting from cover to cover, and a most valuable contribution to the literature of American history.

GLIMPSES OF PILGRIM PLYMOUTH.

With forty-eight illustrations, showing the Plymouth of 1620 and to-day. Plymouth, Mass.: A. S. Burbank. 1891.

This unique work has been issued in good style, and its pictures are excellent. The first is of the *Mayflower* in Plymouth harbor, and the second the canopy over Plymouth Rock. Then comes the quaint house of Governor Bradford in 1621, followed by the pictures of streets, Burial Hill, the Town Brook, the national monument to the forefathers, and many views on both land and sea. These illustrations are accompanied by descriptive text. The volume is one that will be greatly prized as a souvenir among the descendants of the pilgrims.

GENERAL VIEW OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF EUROPE. By ERNEST LAVISSE. Translated with the author's sanction by Charles Gross, Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 188. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1891.

The author of this work while giving the essential facts of universal history, describes the formation and political development of the states of Europe, and indicates the historical causes of their present condition and mutual relations. It is a stretch of three thousand years brought into focus through the remarkable ability of Professor Lavisse. It is a small volume which presents the sequence of the great phenomena of history. "Nature has written,

on the map of Europe, the destiny of certain regions," writes the author. "She determines the aptitudes and, hence, the destiny of a people. The very movement of events in history creates, moreover, inevitable exigencies, one thing happening because other things have happened. On the other hand, nature has left on the map of Europe free scope to the uncertainties of various possibilities. History is full of accidents, the necessity of which cannot be demonstrated, and people do not possess history by the mere fact of its existence; its life must be active and fruitful."

JAPONICA. By SIR EDWIN ARNOLD, M.A., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., with illustrations by Robert Blum. 8vo, pp. 128. New York : Charles Scribner's Sons. 1891.

This charming volume from the pen of an enthusiastic traveler is rendered doubly welcome through the artistic sketches of Japanese scenes with which it is profusely illustrated. Sir Edwin Arnold thinks a great future awaits Japan and the Japanese man ; but he says, " perhaps the new civil code and the opening parliament will introduce nobler laws and new recognition of the debt which Japan owes to her gentle, patient, bright and soft-souled womankind. Perhaps on the other hand, in meddling with her old world Asiatic grace and status, modern ideas will spoil this sweetest daughter of the sun ! " He says there are two Japans, one commenced its life, according to mythical history, six hundred and sixty years before our era ; and the other came into existence about twenty-three years ago. These two Japans are continually blended. The younger nation is all for railways, telegraphs and all manner of European developments. Yet the older nation lives on, within and around the Japan of new parliaments and Parisian costumes. And its administration generally, and the censorship of the press in particular, will have no trifling with the established traditions of Dia Nippon. Japan took from China, along with her earliest imported religion (shintoism), a vast respect for ancestors, however fabulous ; and strangely enough, while her educated people disbelieve the legends of the gods, they demurely repeat the historic stories such as show how an empress stilled the waves of the sea by sitting down upon them, and how emperors had fishes for their ministers and were transformed into white and yellow birds. Not long since " the editor of a Japanese journal was sentenced to four years imprisonment for speaking disrespectfully in a leading article about that very ancient dignitary, the Emperor Jimmu." Sir Edwin Arnold thinks, however, that " considering the potentate in question—albeit first of all Mikados—was so vastly remote as to be declared grandson or grandnephew of the

Sun Goddess herself, and is said to have conquered Japan with a sword as long as a fir-trunk, and the aid of a miraculous white crow's beak, one would suppose criticism was free as to His Majesty Kamu-Yamato-Iware-Biko."

Regarded as a gift-book for the holiday season, nothing could be more appropriate than this beautiful volume. It is filled with delightful reading, and its clever pictures supplement the text in the most picturesque and attractive manner.

THE PERFUME-HOLDER. A Persian Love Poem. By CRAVEN LANGSTROTH BETTS. 12mo, pp. 48. New York : Saalfield & Fitch. 1891.

This is a dainty and attractive little volume containing a Persian love poem, presented in an easy, flowing style that is quite captivating. Mr. Betts seems to have caught the spirit of Persian love-making, and with true poetic instinct has harnessed it into sweetest song. He is to be congratulated on a most exquisite production.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN NOVA SCOTIA, AND THE TORY CLERGY OF THE REVOLUTION. By ARTHUR WENTWORTH EATON, B.A. 12mo, pp. 320. New York : Thomas Whittaker. 1891.

There are facts other than ecclesiastical about the sea-girt province of Nova Scotia which lend interest to its church history. It is the ancient Acadia, the camping ground of the two great nations that for more than a century fiercely contended for supremacy in these western wilds. The present diocese of Nova Scotia comprises the province of Nova Scotia (including Cape Breton) and Prince Edward Island, with ninety-four parishes sending delegates to the Diocesan Synod, and over a hundred names on the clergy list. There have been three noteworthy epochs in the history of Nova Scotia ; the period of the treaty of Utrecht in 1713, the founding of Halifax under Lord Cornwallis in 1749, and the Tory emigration from the revolting colonies—chiefly New York and Massachusetts—between 1775 and 1784. When De Monts in 1604 sailed into the tranquil bay, he had with him both a Huguenot minister and a Roman Catholic priest. But the church proper was not really established until 1758. The author traces its rise with close attention to detail, and describes its condition at the time of the arrival of the loyalists. There were almost without exception church of England people, among whom were many clergymen. Of the latter were Drs. Seabury, Inglis, and

Moore, who became successively bishops of the newly organizing church.

The biographical sketches of the exiled clergy of the revolution forms a striking feature of the volume. In the eleventh chapter we come to the new era of education which dawned upon the province, and which resulted in the founding of Kings College; the buildings of this institution were begun in 1791, on a picturesque slope a little out of the town of Windsor, not far from the Avon river. Sketches are given of the pre-charter students of this college, of the later bishops of the church, and of many of the distinguished laymen. Mr. Eaton says: "On no part of the American continent, it is safe to say, has the church, within corresponding limits, had so many remarkable people among her lay members as in the diocese of Nova Scotia. For many years after the loyalist emigration, the judges of the courts, the members of the council, and of the assembly, and those who filled the chief provincial offices, were men whose ability would have given them a prominent place in any country where they might have lived." The volume is admirably written and it is a mine of wealth in the way of valuable information. It is the first history of Nova Scotia which has touched upon so many of the various features of the country and its people, including the church, and we cordially commend it to our intelligent readers.

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF THE
DELEGATES FROM GEORGIA TO
THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.** By
CHARLES C. JONES, JR., LL.D. 8vo, pp.
211. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.
1891.

The eminent historian of Georgia, who in the past has done such excellent service in the presentation of American history to the reading public, adds again to the obligations of all students in the biographical work before us. We should never lose sight of the noble and heroic delegates to the continental congress, and since the makers of our cyclopædias do not seem to know much about them, we rejoice whenever we meet with a volume like this devoted to sketches of any portion of their number. They were selected for their mission from the best class of men of their time, and the delegates from Georgia were no exception to the rule. These patriots were all good and true and capable, and many of them were gentlemen of high culture, superior education, and attractive social qualities. Fourteen of them in one capacity or another bore arms in the struggle for independence. Abraham Baldwin, William Few, Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall and some others, have been brought before the readers of this magazine from time to time in various articles. But there

are twenty-five of the biographies which appear in this well-prepared volume, and they are all of men worth knowing. Of eleven of them engraved portraits exist.

William Gibbons is mentioned as the greatest lawyer in Georgia, a gentleman of large wealth. It was at one of his rice plantations on the Savannah river, and while a guest of Mr. Gibbons, that General Nathanael Greene in 1786 contracted the illness which so speedily terminated his valuable life. Upon another of Mr. Gibbons's plantations General Wayne, in 1782, met and overcame the famous Indian chief Guristersigo. John Houstoun was one of those who called a meeting in July, 1774, to consider the rights and liberties of the colonists. He was governor of Georgia during the war, and afterwards chief-justice of the state. Georgia perpetuates his name and his memory by one of her largest and most fertile counties. This volume is one that should have a place in every library in the land.

**TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUE-
BEC.** 1889-1891. 8vo, pp. 178. Pamphlet.
Quebec. 1891.

Several excellent papers are published in this issue of the *Transactions*, among which "The Royal William," the pioneer of ocean steam navigation, by vice-president Archibald Campbell, is one of the foremost in interest. The author claims that Canada established a new epoch, "and in so doing encircled her own brow with a halo of renown." "The English Cathedral of Quebec" is the title of an elaborate and valuable paper read before the society, March 10, 1891, by Fred C. Wurtele. The journal of the voyage of the Brunswick Auxiliaries from Wolfenbüttel to Quebec, by F. V. Melsheimer, is printed here. There is also a valuable index of the subjects of all the lectures, papers and historical documents read before this society since 1829, with the names of their authors. George Stewart, D.C.L., F.R.G.S., has been the president of the society for the last seven years.

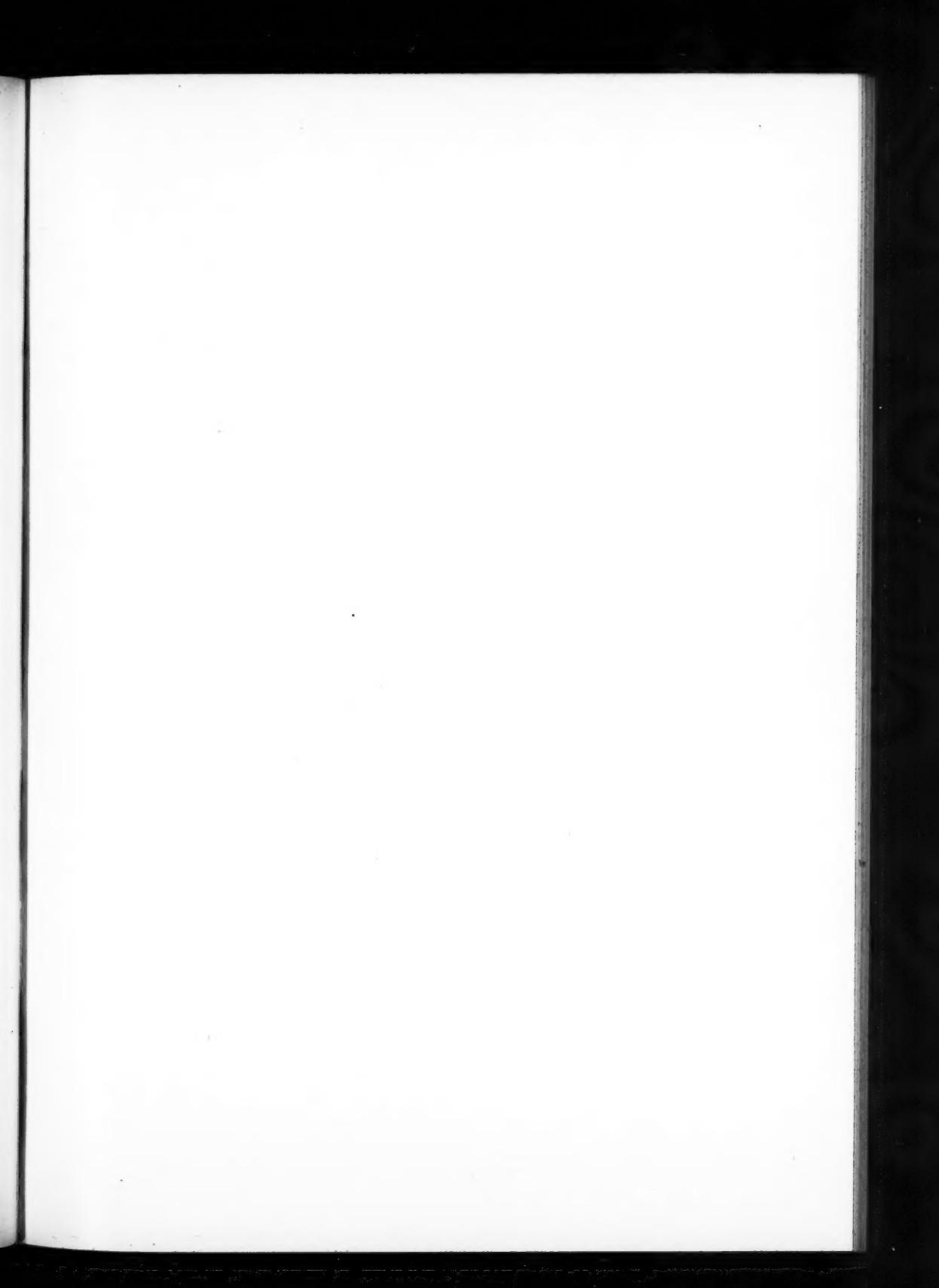
**CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS, AND HOW
HE RECEIVED AND IMPARTED THE
SPIRIT OF DISCOVERY.** By JUSTIN
WINSOR. 8vo, pp. 674. Boston: Houghton,
Mifflin & Company. 1891.

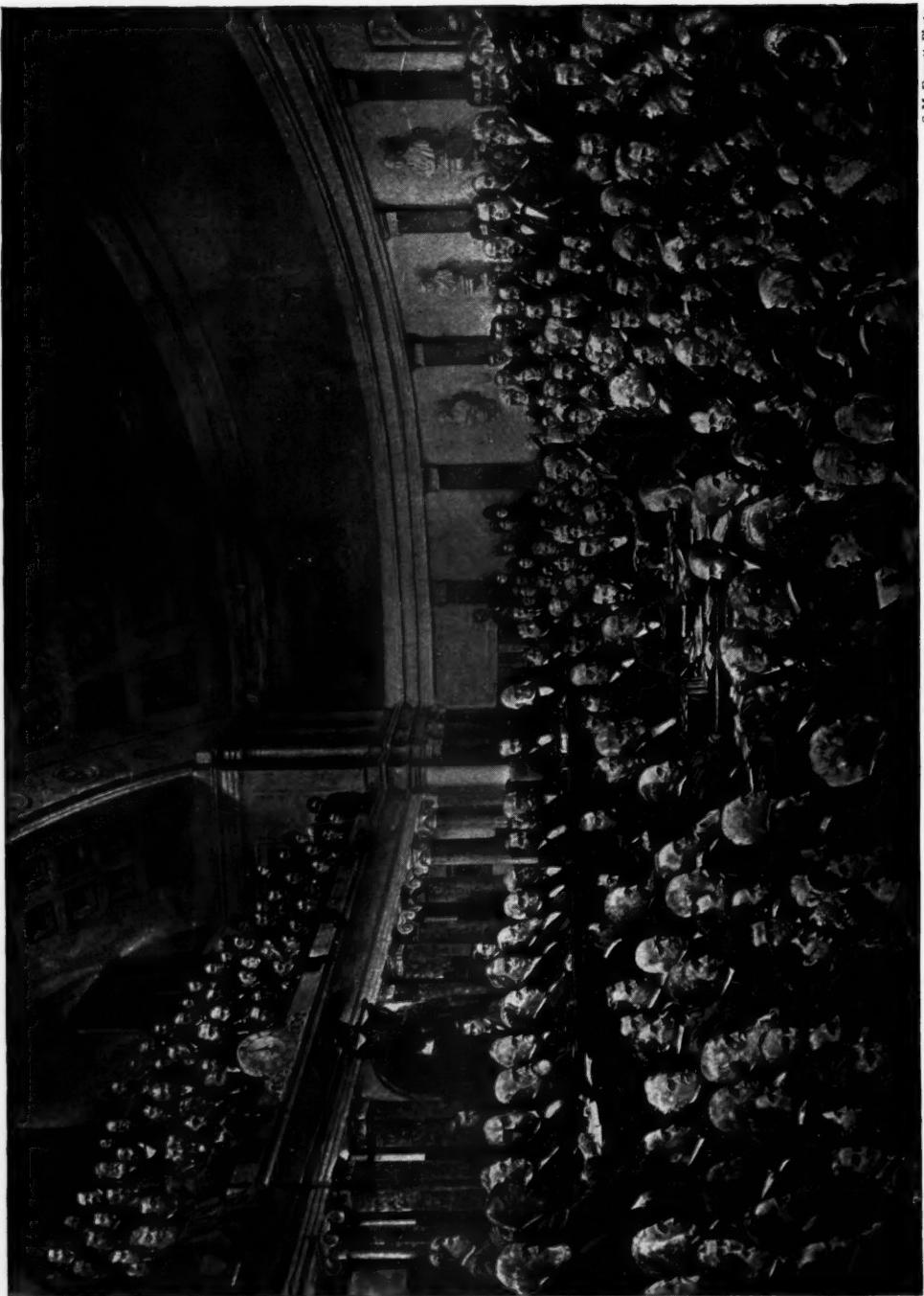
Dr. Winsor has written this work in a style similar to that of his *Narrative and Critical History of America*, giving with the utmost particularity the original sources of information upon which his statements and opinions are based. He makes a strong point in the opening chapter of the documentary legacies of

Columbus himself, noting ninety-seven distinct pieces of writing from the hand of Columbus, either now existing or known to have existed. Of such, whether memoirs, relations, or letters, sixty-four are preserved in their entirety, and are of great importance in estimating his character. The ground covered by this excellent volume is broad, and each chapter is admirably well described by its title. To the scholar who is already familiar with the various publications in other languages than our own to which reference is constantly being made, this volume is a treasure indeed, even though his opinions and conclusions drawn from the same references may be diametrically opposed to those of Dr. Winsor. But the general reader will need to prepare himself through study and research to understand much that is here recorded. The narrative is interrupted at every step with learned discussions of the numerous and oftentimes obscure authorities upon which it is founded. Dr. Winsor does not think Columbus was materially aided by the Norse discoveries, and doubts their having made any impression upon his mind, even if he knew of them. He says: "It was not till a long time after the period of Columbus that, so far as we know, any cartographical records of the discoveries associated with the Vinland voyages were made in the north; and not till the discoveries of Columbus and his successors were a common inheritance in Europe did some of the northern geographers, in 1570, undertake to reconcile the tales of the sagas with the new beliefs. The testimony of these later maps is presumably the transmitted view then held in the north from the interpretation of the Norse sagas in the light of later knowledge. This testimony is that the 'America' of the Spaniards, including Terra Florida, and the 'Albania' of the English, was a territory south of the Norse region and beyond a separating water, very likely that of Davis' straits. The

rendering of the old sagas into script came at a time when, in addition to the inevitable transformations of long oral tradition, there was superadded the romancing spirit then rife in the north, and which had come to them from the south of Europe. The result of this blending of confused tradition with the romancing of the period of the written preservation has thrown, even among the Scandinavians themselves, a shade of doubt, more or less intense at times, which envelops the saga record with much that is indistinguishable from myth, leaving little but the general drift of the story to be held of the nature of a historic record. The Icelandic editor of Egil's saga, published at Reikjavik in 1856, acknowledges this unavoidable reflex of the times when the sagas were reduced to writing, and the most experienced of the recent writers on Greenland, Henrik Rink, has allowed the untrustworthiness of the sagas except for the general scope."

Dr. Winsor says a voyage to Iceland was no new thing, for the English traded there, and a large commerce was maintained with Iceland by Bristol, and had been for many years. And that there was no lack of stories about venturesome voyages west along the latitude of England, of which Columbus might have heard. But if Columbus knew of the Norse expeditions, it is remarkable that he never mentioned the fact when he was summoning every scrap of available evidence to induce the sovereigns of Europe to listen to his scheme of finding India in the west; and it is, moreover, in Dr. Winsor's opinion, inconceivable that Columbus should have taken a course southwest from the Canaries if he had ever received any tidings of land in the northwest. The maps, portraits, and other illustrations which are scattered freely through the volume, add greatly to the interest and value of the scholarly work, which must be seen and examined to be thoroughly appreciated.





C. Adele Fassett, Print

THE UNITED STATES ELECTORAL COMMISSION, 1877.

S. M. Fassett, Photo.

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THE MINORITY REPORT OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

IMPORTANT STATE PAPER PREPARED BY JUDGE ABBOTT IN 1877

[*No part of this document was ever before given to the reading public.*]

IN an address on the late Judge Abbott before the "Old Residents' Historical Association" of the city of Lowell, Massachusetts, November 24, 1891, I made the first public announcement of the fact that I had in my possession the formal protest of the minority against the decision of the majority of the famous-electoral commission, in the cases of the four contested states, which Judge Abbott was requested to prepare by his associates, and which was approved by them; but some doubting the wisdom of publishing it at the time, it was never signed. As a friend of Judge Abbott for forty years, and as one of his "sons in the law"—as he was wont to call the lawyers who had studied in his office—I was permitted to take a copy of this document, with the injunction that it must not be published in his lifetime. He died on the 2d of July last, and the seal of secrecy being broken by his death, I now present it to the readers of the *Magazine of American History*, as an important historical state paper eminently worthy of consideration and preservation.

"To the People of the United States:

The minority of the joint commission established by the act of congress of January 27, 1877, to decide questions arising in the count of the electoral votes, desire to address the people of the whole country on the subjects submitted to and decided by that commission.

No more important questions can ever come before any tribunal or people for consideration and determination. Upon their determination depends who shall be the President of this country, and whether he shall owe that great office to the free, honest choice of the people, or to bribery, forgery, and gross fraud. The minority of that commission, by the law establishing it, had no opportunity of reporting the reasons for their action to the two houses of congress. The presence of a stenographer